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THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

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THE ringing shock of the President's Message to Congress upon the Venezuelan question, and of its rebound when it struck the other side of the Atlantic, has now ceased to split our ears; the disturbed air has returned so nearly to its normal condition as to allow us again to hear our own voices. Men can now speak to each other on both sides of the ocean assured of being heard and understood.

We begin to enquire what all this noise has been about. In order to know this and understand it, we have only to consider one leading characteristic of the English-speaking race, common to each of the two nations which comprise the whole of the domineering, aggressive, conquering, and prevailing strain to which we belong—their land hunger. Our race has experienced no difficulty whatever in accepting the promise that the "Saints shall inherit the earth," the discovery that the language of the Saints was purely English, followed hard upon. Consider Britain, this little island in the North Sea, and its pendant, Ireland, a territory that could be placed in the middle of the one state of Texas, and yet all the cotton that the world uses grown upon the rim left outside. Can a more startling statement be made than that this isle holds under her flag about one-fourth of the earth's

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whole surface, and the same proportion of its population? So much for the land. As for the water, no power on earth can peep its head out beyond the neutral three leagues from shore, except by her august permission. How has this miracle been performed? There is only one answer. The English-speaking race is the "boss" race of the world. It can acquire, can colonize, can rule. It establishes law and administers justice everywhere it settles, where before there was neither the one nor the other. It tolerates all religions and encourages a free press; it makes free men in free states.

This breed of men landed at Plymouth Rock and speedily pushed out all the other races, and established here one of the centers of its own race. In due time the colony came of age, and, being a true and legitimate son of its mother, it set about founding a freer government in a freer state than had ever yet been formed, even by the mother—instigated thereto, not by native Americans, not by Puritans or Knickerbockers, but by the Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, of Mecklenburg, North Carolina, who first proclaimed that America should be of right free and independent, a doctrine which the native American accepted from them eighteen months later. The movement for independence in their adopted land fell legitimately upon my fellow-countrymen, whose ancestors had been engaged for centuries maintaining the independence of their own. Wherever he roams, if he finds no country he begins the work of creating one, for a country the Scot must have, to live, and, if necessary, to die for. To "die for one's Country" sounds well; "to die for one's Colony" does not *ring*. The younger branch of our race here quickly acquired the territory of the Colonies, a narrow strip of land skirting the Atlantic Ocean, with a total population of three millions, and founded the Republic thereon. This was their first acquisition of territory, following the example of the mother. This was little more than a century ago, and to-day, by successive purchases from civilized governments, and upon one occasion by war with a government, by treaties, purchases, and war with the various Indian tribes, the first acquisition, with three millions population, has become 3,500,000 square miles of the present, with seventy millions of English-speaking people. By the purchase of Louisiana and the acquisition of Texas and California from Mexico, the new country, at the beginning

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scarcely more than 200 miles in width along the Atlantic, now stretches 3,000 miles in a straight line from the Atlantic to the Pacific Oceans, and from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico almost 1,500 miles. Alaska, purchased from Russia, extends so far to the west that San Francisco, upon the Pacific, is now in the middle of the territory of the United States, which extends east and west nearly 6,000 miles. The action of the race in the old home and in the new in regard to territorial acquisition has thus been precisely the same. The mother has dominated or acquired almost everything with which she has come in contact and which she coveted, and the son has been no discredit to his mother in the same line. It is a root passion, some of us think a prerogative, of our race to acquire territory.

There is, however, one difference which makes "all the difference" between the positions of the old land and the new in the gratification of their land hunger. Happy new land, whose lines of development lay across coterminous territory (Alaska excluded), which being acquired formed one compact solid nation! Her great estate lies within a ringed fence. She is forty-five nations in one without a visible dividing line. The citizen can walk from ocean to ocean and find no break in the earth under his feet, and she is so firmly knit together by the Federal system that every day makes her more surely one great nation—one homeogenous people—and yet by her political system she proves that the freest government of the parts makes the strongest government of the whole.

The task of territorial aggrandizement before the United States was thus comparatively easy. She had only to grow and spread herself naturally over unoccupied territory, which was part of one unseparated whole and which being occupied became part of her united self.

How different has been the task of Britain, and how startlingly different the result. This little island, having no coterminous territory, long endeavored to obtain acquisitions upon the continent. The King of England has been the King of France. As the continent grew in population the task became too great even for the conquering race in little Britain, and she was driven back within her own small boundaries. Her attention was then necessarily directed to all parts of the earth, however distant. If she could not have more room at home she sought it everywhere abroad and has been highly successful in the search. The

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result is, however, that she is the most disjointed and loosely knit Empire that can be conceived of. Her office is that of the mother; she begets numerous children, nurses them tenderly, is a most generous parent, but all her care leads to one inevitable end—her children obtain maturity and leave the household. All that there was of this Republic was once hers; it is now all lost. Canada remains only nominally hers, a wayward child, unjust and tyrannical to her mother because bursting into manhood. She taxes the products of Great Britain; refuses to be bound by copyright treaties embracing the British Empire, of which, nevertheless, when occasion demands she still claims to be part; she has created all the trouble that has arisen between England and America in regard to the Bering Sea dispute; Pauncefote and Blaine settled all that and Salisbury wired his congratulations, but Canadians appeared in Washington and informed Sir Julian that if Britain presumed to make treaties for Canada she would not have Canada many weeks, and the Marquis of Salisbury quietly tore up the treaty he had so cordially approved; she is now troubling the United States upon a question of boundary. All these restless revolts against authority prove that the days of her dependence upon the old land pass quickly. A recent English writer has said that every hour in Australia a Monarchist dies and a Republican is born. Federated Australia already looms upon the horizon, which in turn must soon lead to an independdent Republic. There is no escape from this great law of development, and many of the statesmen of England probably know it well, although not one lives bold enough to tell his countrymen the truth he may so clearly see. They follow the example of Beaconsfield who, while living, catered to what is called the "Imperial idea," and yet we see from his letters recently published that he was deceiving his countrymen while he wrote his sister the truth. "The Colonies are millstones around the neck of England; they lean upon us when they are weak, and leave us when they become strong." When English statesmen speak of imperial federation, it may often be suspected that they have two opinions upon the subject, as Beaconsfield had, and that the wish is father to their words, not to their thoughts. Some day the people of England will become as wise as Lord Beaconsfield was, when politicians can deceive them upon this point no longer.

We should be greatly sorrowful for Britain if it were not

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clearly seen that this growth of colonies to maturity, and thence to independence, was favorable to the increase, enterprise and power of our English-speaking race as a whole. One cannot help feeling for the mother who sees her children successively leave her to start in life for themselves, and we bow before this wonderful, small but mighty old mother England in reverence and sympathize deeply with her in the wrenches which she is compelled to undergo in the course of nature. Nevertheless, it is better for our race that it should be so. If her offspring were content to live as colonists, we could no longer be proud of her blood.

How have these coveted lands been acquired by the two divisions of our race? Into that, alas, it were well for the strict moralist not to enquire too curiously. Let us assume that it is best described by saying "by hook or by crook." Too often the lamb has troubled the waters for the wolf. Whatever the agencies may have been—and these have constantly become less dubious since the start—over all there rests this source of satisfaction that, upon the whole, the management of the land acquired by our race has been best for the higher interests of humanity. It is an evolution, the fittest driving out the least fit; the best supplanting the inferior; and the interests of civilization rendered the acquisition of the land necessary. It was right and proper that the nomadic Indian should give place to the settled husbandman in the prairies of the West; it is also well that the Maori should fade away, and give place to the intelligent, industrious citizen, a member of our race.

Great Britain has, therefore, necessarily acquired lands "by hook or by crook" in any part of the world, as the United States has acquired land adjoining her by just the same means. Our Indian treaties and subsidies, our Mexican war, would readily give us illustration, but with the United States we are not now concerned. It is from England's similar policy we have to draw, and no finer illustration of the *modus operandi* can be given than her dealings with Venezuela. She begins modestly by claiming a boundary; Venezuela requests her to submit her claims to arbitration; this is refused; the matter rests awhile, when it appears that the boundary of England has been shifted a good deal and embraces more territory adjoining Venezuela; another remonstrance from Venezuela, and another rest. When the question revives, Britain discovers she was mis-

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taken again and did not claim enough, and her third claim extends far beyond the second. Finally, there is a fourth line drawn which reaches over valuable auriferous deposits, and really lands Great Britain on the banks of the Orinoco. This was rather too much, and Venezuela again asked the good offices of the United States to beg Great Britain to submit the question to peaceful arbitration. This Great Britain agreed to do in 1885 through Lord Granville. There would have been no Venezuelan dispute had the doctrine of continuous foreign policy been adhered to, but the present Prime Minister of Great Britain, who is the one man wholly responsible for all that has occurred to embitter English-speaking men, actually refused to carry out the agreement of his predecessor to arbitrate the whole question.

The *Daily News*, of London, as we note by a recent cable, begins a conciliatory editorial upon the Venezuelan question with these words: "We believe the British claim to be just." But the talented gentleman who has recently been called to the editorial chair of that great organ, and who is destined to become a great force, unfortunately omits to indicate which of the several claims he has found to be the just one. Probably the scale runs thus: First claim, just; second, more just; third, most just, as it gives Britain most territory. Thus do "Justice" and "Claims" of our race—when upon the prowl to satisfy their land hunger—in delightful harmony, contemporaneously swell, like Siamese twins, mutually nourishing each other.

This is certainly one of the most flagrant exercises of brute force against a weak power which can be adduced to illustrate the propensity of the English-speaking race to absorb as much of the land of the world as it possibly can, and this policy in the case of Venezuela would have been triumphantly successful, had the question remained one between the very weak Lamb and the very strong Wolf. I do not mean to hold Great Britain up to peculiar opprobrium. What the race in Great Britain would do, the race upon this side would do, and no doubt has done—although it is but just to say that the natural instinct leading to abrupt appeal to force is somewhat modified in the American through intermixture of blood with races less strongly possessed of the dominating spirit. He offers arbitration. I present this instance of the powerful grasping from the weak, not as an English trait, but as a race trait.

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Successive American governments have done their best to bring Great Britain back to its promise to arbitrate, made by Lord Granville in 1885, but without avail. Secretaries of State Bayard, Blaine, and Gresham, in successive administrations, have gently intimated to Great Britain that this was the only honorable course she could pursue, and that the United States would be greatly pleased if she fulfilled her agreement. It was, therefore, impossible for President Cleveland's administration to turn its back upon the cause of weak Venezuela, even had it been so disposed. Previous governments having listened to her appeal, and being convinced of the justice of her request for arbitration, which as we see Britain had herself acknowledged, the United States was bound to call upon Great Britain for a definite answer, whether or no she were willing to fulfil her honorable engagement and submit her claims to an impartial judge for peaceful settlement as she had agreed to do in 1885. The precise form adopted in doing this does not touch the principle involved, but it is well frankly to admit that public opinion in the United States to-day favors the view that the menacing part of the President's Message had better been omitted. Asking Britain to carry out what she had agreed to do through Lord Granville and standing for arbitration, the President's position was impregnable and bound to win. Had he stopped with asking Congress for authority to appoint a Commission to ascertain the true boundary between Britain and Venezuela, solely for the guidance of the United States, the most potent part of his message as published would have been tenfold more potent, left to the imagination unsaid.

Insisting with an adversary upon the duty of accepting peaceful arbitration is one thing; insisting upon peaceful arbitration, *or* ——————— quite another. But this is to be said for the President: he had great provocation in Lord Salisbury's reply. Going beyond the rejection of the Monroe Doctrine as inapplicable to the case, as he did, into an irritating discussion as to the existence of the Doctrine itself, and his refusing on the part of Great Britain to accede to the known wishes of the United States that the dispute with a weak sister Republic upon this continent should be peacefully settled, were enough to raise even as calm and phlegmatic a man as the President to indignant words. On the other hand, let us be fair, Lord Salis-

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bury had received great provocation in Secretary Olney's dispatch. It is an able paper upon the whole, but how a man capable of writing such a paper, should permit himself to depart so far from fact as to say that the United States is sovereign upon the American continent and its *fiat* law, passes comprehension. This is not the case, as every schoolboy knows, and the effect of such a claim upon the sister Republics of the South must be most injurious. Had Mr. Blaine, when presiding over the Pan-American Conference, even intimated that the United States claimed anything beyond equality with these Republics, the Conference would have dispersed at once. More than one unintentional word bearing upon the power of the elder brother gave evidence of the extreme sensitiveness of the delegates of the sixteen States of South America who were representative men of their respective countries. Fortunately for us the pride of the Spanish race in South America is not to be trifled with. It was not for nothing that President Harrison, on receiving these delegates when their labors were ended, said to them: "We have had in your honor a military review, not to show you that we have an army, but to show you we have none."

It is significant that the most important work of the Conference was the adoption of the following by a vote of the sixteen Republics:

"The Republics of North, Central, and South America hereby adopt arbitration as a principle of American International Law, for the settlement of all differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between them."

Thus is the whole American continent pledged to arbitration, Chili excepted, whose delegates did not vote: a mighty step forward in the march of human progress.

It may take several wise Secretaries of State succeeding Secretary Olney, to fully erase the suspicions which he has so recklessly created. One can understand how Great Britain, who still owns so much of the American continent, must have felt when the alleged sovereignty of the United States over its possessions was thus flaunted in its face. The truth is that neither Lord Salisbury nor Secretary Olney has conducted this correspondence in a manner creditable to his reputation as a diplomat; for their communications have needlessly irritated the

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nations to which they were addressed. With President Cleveland's message, it is different; although the menace of war should have been left unsaid, still it was said in a dignified, solemn and impressive manner. There was in it neither bluster nor contradiction of fact. To-day it is scarcely regrettable that his indignation carried him far, because he has certainly called the attention of the masses of the people of Great Britain to the momentous consequences involved by the withdrawal of Lord Salisbury from Lord Granville's agreement to arbitrate in 1885, and by his more recent refusal of abitration addressed to the American Government. In all probability this will ensure a peaceful settlement of the question with greater ease, and prevent prolonged disturbances which would otherwise have resulted from a less determined attitude.

Let us now consider the condition of public sentiment on both sides. In the United States, East, West, North and South, from which divergent voices were at first heard, there is but one voice now. Public opinion has crystallized into one word—*arbitration.* In support of that mode of settlement we now know the nation is unanimous. The proofs of this should not fail to carry conviction into the hearts of Britons.

The one representative and influential body in the United States which is most closely allied with Britain not only by the ties of trade, but by the friendships which these ties have created, is the Chamber of Commerce of New York. If that body were polled by ballot, probably a greater proportion of its members than of any other body of American citizens would register themselves as friendly to England. So far did the feeling extend in this body, that a movement was on foot to call a meeting to dissent from the President's Message. Fortunately, wiser counsels prevailed, and time was given for an examination of the question, and for members to make up their minds upon the facts. The result was that at the crowded meeting subsequently held, there was passed a resolution, with only one dissenting voice, in favor of a commission for arbitration. In the whole proceedings there was only one sentiment present in the minds of those assembled: "this is a question for arbitration."

Several messages have been exchanged between societies in the two lands, the replies to which, given from this side, should be noted. Here is the latest, which is only one of several. The

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Society of Christian Endeavor of England cables begging the 2,000,000 dear young Christian Endeavorers on this side to believe that their brethren and sisters in England "would almost prefer death to hearing that an English gun had been fired against the United States, the broad America so many of us know and love. May God avert so direful a calamity. Bid them not only pray for peace, but remember that we will join them at the mercy seat in earnest entreaty that this, to us, inexplicable alarm may be the occasion for a new and stronger alliance between all Christian hearts on either side of the Atlantic, and that we, the Christian Endeavorers of both countries, will, in the spirit of Christ, do our utmost to create a public opinion in favor of righteousness and peace, whenever either is threatened by our statesmen or our press. Let this be a 'holy alliance' that shall leave its traces on the future history of our world." The following reply was made: "The officers of the United Society of Christian Endeavor heartily reciprocate your sentiments. We pray for peace and for righteous *arbitration* of all difficulties between nations."

Judicious readers will notice the absence of one word, "arbitration," in the English telegram, but it is not absent in the American reply. It goes without saying that, when the peace-loving people of the United States with one accord take their stand upon arbitration as the only fair method of settlement, a rejection of that mode which was once accepted by Britain must cause more than grievous disappointment.

Upon the other side of the Atlantic there are cheering signs that the sentiment favorable to arbitration in some form begins to show its force and wins its way. The most noteworthy is, of course, that furnished by the words of the London *Times:*

> We would welcome any reasonable method of settling the dispute without a resort to force.
>
> There is no particular sanctity in the Schomburgk line, but it was regarded by Great Britain as marking off virtually settled districts from those still unoccupied.
>
> It ought not to be difficult to determine what districts have been actually occupied by each nation, and, excluding these, to arbitrate on the unsettled districts as a whole. It would not then be necessary to deal with the Schomburgk line at all, while the objects of Lord Salisbury's restriction would be attained.

It is difficult for American readers to understand the unique position of that paper, especially in regard to the foreign policy of

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Great Britain. But as an ardent apostle of arbitration, and most anxious for the vindication of that principle in this quarrel, I should rather have those words from the *Times* than similar words from one-half the newspapers in England. They weigh more. The International Arbitration Society, of which Sir John Lubbock is chairman, is, as we learn by cable, to declare for arbitration at its coming meeting. This will not be without influence, but it would have been more powerful had that organization not affiliated with the Peace Society and received its delegates as allies, thus confounding arbitration with "Peace-at-any-price," which compelled me to resign the Vice-Presidency with which I had been honored, holding, as I did, that peaceful arbitration is one of the few causes for which it is not only justifiable, but a duty to fight. Any nation which refuses arbitration in a boundary dispute and thus resorts to war rather than forego its claim to sit as judge in its own cause, should be made to realize the truth of Christ's words: "They that take up the sword, shall perish by the sword." We should fight to prove the truth of that decree, as the only sure means of finally reaching the longed-for reign of peace. If ever the industrial, peace-loving Republic has to draw the sword, may it be in vindication of peaceful arbitration, in international disputes, the Christian substitute for barbarous war.

Many have been watching for Mr. Gladstone's voice in favor of this principle, because of all men living he has done most to establish it between the two branches of our race. It required a powerful man and a noble one to lead Parliament to accept arbitration in the Alabama dispute. Many have wondered how he could remain silent, since the infinitely lesser question, grave as it is, of the sufferings of the Armenians roused him to indignant speech. He spoke at length in his reply to the *Chronicle*, a paper which has done much good service to both Britain and the United States, and should be remembered in this crisis. Mr. Gladstone's words are important. He says: "My opinion of arbitration is unchanged, although it cannot be of use for me to enter the discussion at this moment."

This leaves no doubt of his position now, nor where he will be found should occasion require. He adopted arbitration, when Prime Minister, in the Alabama case with the United States; and he was Prime Minister in 1885 when his Foreign Secretary

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accepted the holy principle, in this very Venezuelan dispute which has aroused so much animosity between nations who should be friends. Mr. Gladstone's fame is to rest securely upon this foundation, if none other. In his day he was the foremost and most powerful champion of arbitration.

It is a pity that the record of Mr. Gladstone's successor, Lord Rosebery, as an arbitrationist, is not as good as could be wished in this dispute. He refused arbitration with Venezuela, following Lord Salisbury; but this he may have done in obedience to the rule of continuity in foreign policy, and it does not follow that he would not have promptly acceded to the express desire of the United States that the dispute should be thus adjusted. Nothing could be better than his message, recently published, in which he scouts the idea of war between the two nations "about a frontier squabble in a small South American republic."

One of the weightiest expressions yet cabled comes from the Solicitor-General of the last Conservative Government, who was offered the same exalted position in the present administration, Sir Edward Clarke. He said to his constituents, in a public speech: "If England goes to war upon this issue, *she will not be in the right.*" So much for arbitration in Britain.

Expressions of good-will and of desire for peace with their kindred here have been too numerous to quote, but there is one which is probably unique in every respect in the whole history of international disputes, and it has done much to relieve the situation. This message was from no less personages than the heir to the British throne and his son in succession:

> "They earnestly trust and cannot but believe the present crisis will be arranged in a manner satisfactory to both countries, and will be succeeded by the same warm feeling of friendship which has existed between them for so many years."

No ordinary feeling of good-will and of kinship called forth these graceful, timely, and important words. That they do not echo the sentiments of the good old crowned Queen, who proved her own good-will once before for the Republic at a memorable crisis, can not be supposed. This message bursting through the limits of official reserve may safely be taken to indicate a peaceful solution, and proves again that blood is thicker than water. It is from the heart, and none of us can hereafter say or write that the Prince of Wales is chiefly the leader of

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fashion and without much influence or power beyond this sphere. In this matter his has been the most potent voice of all that have reached us. He has sown precious seed, from which some day he may reap a golden harvest, and from which he can even this day safely assure himself, that he has powerfully contributed to the maintenance of peace within the world-wide possessions of our race.

It is possible, of course, perhaps probable, that Lord Salisbury may agree direct with Venezuela, as he has the right to do. President Cleveland opens a wide door here, saying any adjustment of the boundary which that country may deem for her advantage and may enter into of her own free will, cannot, of course, be objected to by the United States. Such a settlement might naturally be more agreeable to Lord Salisbury than a return to arbitration which he has rejected. Although any peaceable settlement would be well it would not be so conducive to future peace, nor render war between the countries so nearly impossible, as if the policy of arbitration received in this instance further vindication, and the added force of another precedent to influence future generations.

The simple truth is that the British in the past have laid their hand on all the territory they could acquire in Europe, Asia, Africa, and America in obedience to their instinct for expansion, and having successfully done so, they were still endeavoring to carry out the same policy upon the American Continent with, as they supposed, the weak Republic of Venezuela, when they were suddenly confronted with their own race and equals in the art of acquisition of territory, and this completely changed the situation. They had not the slightest intention of interfering with the United States, nor have they now. The silver lining to this war cloud consists not in the fact that the United States have succeeded in making the Monroe Doctrine a part of international law, which it is not, but that it has succeeded in convincing Britain and Europe of a much more potent fact, that it is a deep rooted instinct inherent in the blood of the larger half of our dominating race.

Great Britain, as far as the other half of her race is concerned, may still acquire any land she can in Europe, Asia and Africa, and Americans will regard the spread of her people with pride and satisfaction, if she will kindly permit them hereafter to

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superintend territorial changes upon the American continent, and uphold the doctrine of peaceful arbitration upon it. Nor can she fairly grudge her race here one continent when she has freedom to roam over three.

Every nation has its "Red Rag," some nations have more than one, but what the "Right of Asylum" is to Great Britain, the Monroe Doctrine is to the United States. Each lies very deep in the national heart. Few statesmen of Great Britain do not share the opinion of Lord Salisbury, which he has not feared to express, that the "Right of Asylum" is abused and should be restricted, but there has not arisen one in Britain sufficiently powerful to deal with it. The United States never had, and has not now, a statesman who could restrain the American people from an outburst of passion and the extreme consequences that national passion is liable to bring, if any European power undertook to extend its territory upon this continent, or to decide in case of dispute just where the boundary of present possessions stand. Such differences must be arbitrated.

There comes in the life of every manly man a time when he has to assert his own manhood. It is difficult for the mother to understand, or to approve of, the child she nursed in his utter helplessness, standing up against her fond decisions for his career and in turn ruling over his mother for her good. The Republic has become of age and entered into the possession of his heritage. It has so much room that its desire does not go in the direction of acquiring non-coterminous territory to which alternative his parent land is reduced. It is as the elder brother of the sixteen Republics upon this continent that it intends to act. It claims no sovereignty over the weakest of these, nor has it any intention to interfere in their domestic concerns; neither does it desire to hasten the departure of European powers from this continent by anything save the operations of natural causes, which are ending their sway as rapidly, perhaps, as is desirable. In vain does Britain labor to build up British communities in British Guiana, or in Canada, or in any portion of this continent; she only establishes and nurses them in their weakness, as Beaconsfield so truthfully said, to see them leave her in their strength. A noble office, the noblest office among nations, that of the mother is hers; but when she attempts to enlarge her boundaries, as she has undoubtedly attempted, by drawing several lines between herself and

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Venezuela, each giving her more territory than the other, the other half of the race upon this continent feels that it must now-a-days be consulted; and if that other half out of tender regard for Great Britain, or out of a still higher motive, the feeling of what is due to herself as a Christian nation, asks that the correct boundary shall be determined by arbitration, a grave responsibility rests upon those who reject the olive branch.

In his speech at Manchester Mr. Balfour said he

> "Trusted and believed the day would come when better statesmen in authority, and more fortunate than even Monroe, would assert a doctrine between the English-speaking peoples under which war would be impossible.'

That day has not to come, it has arrived. The British Government has had for years in its archives an invitation from the United States to enter into a treaty of arbitration which realizes this hope, and Mr. Balfour is one of those who, from their great position, seem most responsible for the rejection of the end he so ardently longs for. It is time that the people of Great Britain understood that if war be still possible between the two countries, it is not the fault of the Republic but of their own country, not of President Cleveland and Secretary of State Olney, but of Prime Minister Salisbury, and the leader of the House of Commons, Mr. Balfour, who do not accept the offered treaty which would banish war forever between the two nations of our race. This invitation was sent by the same President Cleveland, who is now denounced as favoring war.

I do not share Mr. Stanley's view, which Mr. Balfour seems to echo, that the people of the United States would go to war with Great Britain lightly. As I know them, their regard for the ties that bind the English-speaking race together are not less strong nor less general than that of the people of Britain; but being of that dominating race, the American is sensitive in regard to the affairs of this continent.

He feels that the doctrine of arbitration of disputes renders huge armaments unnecessary. He sees clearly that, the principle of arbitration destroyed, the introduction of the European mode of settlement, war, follows. Hence, he feels it to be his stern duty to uphold arbitration, just as he felt it to be his duty to preserve the Union. He sees that it would be better to rally this continent to its defence, and secure perpetual peace there-

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after, by fighting against the first attempt, should any be made, to render this continent, now dedicated to Arbitration, the prey to war as other continents are.

John Bright, Quaker as he was, nevertheless pronounced the war for the preservation of our Union, a duty. Were he alive to-day, he would tell his countrymen that if they persisted in rejecting the American policy of arbitration upon questions affecting the American Continent and lighted the torch of war upon it, all the crimes recorded in human history would pale before this.

Peaceful arbitration is the great gain of this century. It was my office to introduce to Mr. Cleveland, then President of the United States, as he is now, the delegation from the British Parliament urging arbitration. In the conferences I had with him previous to his receiving the deputation, I found him as strong a supporter of that policy as I ever met. I do not wonder at his outburst, knowing how deeply this man feels upon that question; it is to him so precious, it constitutes so great an advance over arbitrament by war that—even if we have to fight, that any nation rejecting it may suffer—I believe he feels that it would be our duty to do so, believing that the nation which rejects arbitration in a boundary dispute deserves the execration of mankind.

It is only necessary for the people on both sides of the Atlantic to keep in mind that above all other considerations connected with this, in itself, most trivial dispute, there stands imperilled the Christian substitute of peaceful arbitration for barbarous war. The dangerous stage has been already reached and passed. There will be no war between the United States and Great Britain either upon the Venezuelan question or upon any other, because the first has already planted itself upon the rock of arbitration, and the other is slowly but steadily moving toward its acceptance.

No government can live in Britain which dares squarely to persist in rejecting arbitration in a boundary dispute upon the American Continent. There is too much religion, too much conscience, too much sincere desire for peace and good will among men, and far too much genuine kindly feeling among the people from Queen to Peasant for their "kin beyond sea," to permit any government to commit so great a crime.

ANDREW CARNEGIE.

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BRITISH FEELING ON THE VENEZUELAN QUESTION.

BY THE RIGHT HON. JAMES BRYCE, AUTHOR OF "THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH."

DURING the fortnight of excitement which followed President Cleveland's message of December 17th, I was on the Atlantic, returning from Cape Town to England, nor have I had time since landing to examine the geography and the diplomatic history of the Venezuelan boundary question with sufficient care to enable me to discuss it here. I shall therefore say nothing as to the merits of the dispute; while as regards the actual diplomatic situation, it is a situation which may change from day to day, and cannot well be dealt with in an article which will not be read till three or four weeks after it has been written. All, therefore, that I can attempt, in response to the invitation of the Editor of this REVIEW, is to endeavor to summarize for American readers the attitude of English public opinion on the Venezuelan controversy and the impressions made by the language of Mr. Cleveland and the action of Congress. Nothing is more desirable than that each people should understand how the other has felt and is feeling on such a matter. Till they do, neither can make proper allowances for the other; and in international, as in domestic relations, the making of due allowances is the indispensable prerequisite to friendliness and concord.

Each party to a controversy is apt to estimate the interest of the other party by that which he feels himself. Now, the British people had not cared about the Venezuelan question because they had not known about it. It would be well within the mark to say that not one man out of ten thousand was aware that there was a Venezuelan question at all. Even in the House of Commons I doubt whether one member out of ten had heard of the

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matter. I think it has never been the subject of debate there, and I can recollect only one member who, during the last fifteen years, interrogated the Government upon the subject. Even those—very few—persons who knew that it was being mentioned in correspondence between our Government and that of the United States thought, till quite recently, that the interest of the United States was entirely indirect and secondary, was in fact merely that of a friendly power tendering its good offices as mediator. Nobody had the least idea that your Government considered the matter to be one of immediate and primary importance to America, justifying an ultimatum. That the Monroe Doctrine could be deemed involved had not occurred to our minds. We have been accustomed to regard that doctrine as asserting the objections entertained by the United States to two things, viz.: the establishment of any new settlement of a European Power in America, and the attempt to forcibly change by Europeans arms the form of government which an American community has created. The instance of its actual application (although I believe that it was not referred to in the despatches) often present to our minds has been the case of Louis Napoleon's occupation of Mexico in support of the so-called Empire of Maximilian. In that instance the interest of the United States was obvious, direct, palpable. The American country affected was on the borders of the United States ; and a European military despotism exercising a protectorate over that country by its army might constitute a standing menace to the adjoining parts of your Union. In this instance the country concerned lies two thousand miles by sea from the United States, and much further by land, and what is the matter in dispute ? Not the independence of an American State, nor its form of government, but some thousand square miles, mostly trackless forest, the recognition of which as a part of British Guiana would not add in any way to the military strength of Britain, nor in the least affect either the security of the United States or any of her material interests. There was therefore no idea of traversing the Monroe Doctrine, or any other principle to which American opinion is attached. Even now, after reading what has been said by Mr. Olney and others in America, the Monroe Doctrine, as enunciated by Monroe and expounded by American historians and publicists up till the last few months, seems to

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have no more application to this particular case than a dogma of theology or a proposition in mathematics. Whether this British impression is correct is a question I will not argue; all I desire to explain is that, although English statesmen and lawyers might differ among themselves as to the extent to which the doctrine may fairly be deemed to go, none has on this occasion sought to challenge it, in the form known to history, or has supposed it was being in fact challenged. It has seemed to us, as it seemed to Mr. Calhoun in 1848, that, in applying any such doctrine, "no general rule can be laid down; every case must be decided on its own merits." This case seemed to be wholly outside the doctrine as hitherto understood. We remember with pleasure that the original protest in the message of 1823 against contemplated interference by certain European power, with the lately formed Spanish republics was approved, and to some extent suggested, by the British Government, even in those so-called "unregenerate days," before the Reform Act, when it was virtually an oligarchy; and we sympathize to the full with the desire of the American people that great military states and despotic monarchies shall never spring up on the soil of the New World.

This remark suggests another point in which the attitude of a large part of the American public has taken us by surprise. That part seems to give its sympathy to Venezuela rather than to British Guiana, and apparently only because Venezuela is called a republic. The notion that Great Britain is not a free country because the head of the state is not elected but (greatly to the convenience of a democratic people which has elections enough already) is selected by statute from a particular family according to a defined rule must surely have long since disappeared from the United States. Yet the converse idea seems to linger that a community is free and self-governing because it calls itself a republic and its head a president.

What a singular illustration of the power of a name? Like almost all the other "republics" of Spanish and Portuguese America (Chili is an exception) Venezuela is and has been for many years a military tyranny. Power, won by force and maintained partly by rifles and partly by money, has passed from one adventurer to another, with no freedom and no self-government as those things are understood in Great Britain and in America. The civilization of these countries is of a low type.

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Their diplomacy is so tricky and shifty that it is very hard to maintain any diplomatic relations with them; and one of the difficulties we have had in settling this question with Venezuela is that negotiations have been interrupted by revolutions, and our Foreign Office could never count upon having that which one dictator had appeared to agree to accepted by the next. The questions we have with these Spanish American republics are seldom important, but they are always vexatious, for their governments have no sense of responsibility, and abuse the privilege of weakness. As respects freedom and progress, the contrast between a colony like Guiana, peopled by men of the same Dutch and English blood as peopled New York in 1776, and the Hispano-Indian communities of Central and South America, is too conspicuous to need description. There is not a monarchy in Western Europe, perhaps one might say in all Europe (excluding Turkey), that is not more free, more orderly, and more progressive than these mock republics; and it is not strange that the British colonists in the disputed territory, who have settled there in the belief that they were safe under colonial laws and administration, should feel alarmed at the risk of being turned over to such a government as that of Venezuela. American citizens would be the last to relish such a prospect for themselves.

I am not, however, arguing that American sympathy should go with the colonists on the ground of blood or of freedom—justice first. What has astonished us is that the mere empty name of "republic" should apparently have won much American sympathy for the state which is, in fact, the less free of the two, and the less like your own.

Justice first. This, I hope, is the doctrine which English public opinion will support. We had certainly no idea till within the last few weeks that we were suspected of "land grabbing" in South America, and of seeking, as some one appears to have said, "to turn the Caribbean Sea into a British lake." No one here has ever heard of such plans or aims. If they exist anywhere they have been most carefully concealed from Parliament and from the people. So far from endeavoring to increase our influence as against the United States, on the shores of the Gulf of Mexico or Caribbean Sea, I believe that if the United States were presently to annex Guatemala, say, or Venezuela itself, Britain would

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look on with unconcern, so far as no treaty rights of her own were affected. Many of us would rejoice at the prospect of improvement for these countries, and would entertain no apprehensions save for the well-being of the United States Government itself, which would be embarrassed by incorporation of populations unfit for the civic duties and powers of citizens of a free republic.

That, however, which has most astonished us is the disclosure of a hostility to Great Britain in considerable sections of the American people. We have long been aware that we are disliked, as a nation, in some European countries; and we can see why. The interests and the claims of France, for instance, come into contact with those of Britain in several parts of the world, and although both nations, feeling that their highest and ultimate interest is peace, are resolved to preserve it, still the contact is attended by a certain amount of friction. To explain the causes of German dislike is less easy; but there has, no doubt, been some rivalry in colonization and a keen rivalry in commerce; though, as it is the German houses that in commerce have been gaining upon the British, one hardly sees why German feeling should be so much stronger against Britain than British feeling is against Germany. Speaking generally, one may say that the position of detachment which Britain has taken up in the politics of Europe, and her immunity from invasion, together with the sharp competition for colonial expansion which has marked the last few years (so far as the tropics are concerned it will probably turn out to have been a waste of force) have rendered the aversion to England in several continental countries explicable. Differences of race character make each people perceive the faults of the other with too quick a resentment, and dull the appreciation of merits. The newspapers fan every spark of annoyance into a flame and cover violence and misrepresentation with the cloak of patriotism. They are as great a danger to peace in our hemisphere now as the jealousies of kings and queens were in earlier centuries.

But in the case of the United States these explanations are not available. Those Englishmen who have travelled in America have of course been aware of the mischief your schoolbooks do in teaching young people to regard the English as enemies because there was war in the days of George III. Such Englishmen knew that as Britain is almost the only great power with

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which the United States has had diplomatic controversies, national feeling has sometimes been led to regard her as an adversary, and displays of national feeling often took the form of defiance. Even such travellers, however, were not prepared for the language of the President and its reception in many quarters, while as to Englishmen generally, they could scarcely credit their eyes and ears. "Why," they said, "should we be regarded as enemies by our own kinsfolk? No territorial dispute is pending between us and them, like those we have or have lately had with France and Russia. No explosions of Jingoism have ever been directed against them, like those which Lord Beaconsfield evoked against Russia some twenty years ago. There is very little of that commercial, and none of that colonial, rivalry which we have with France and Germany, for the Americans are still chiefly occupied in developing their internal resources, and have ample occupation for their energy and their capital in doing so. Still less is there that incompatibility of character and temper which sometimes sets us wrong with Frenchmen, or Russians, or even Germans, for we and the Americans come of the same stock, speak the same language, read the same books, think upon similar lines, are connected by a thousand ties of family and friendship. No two nations could be better fitted to understand one another's ideas and institutions. English travellers and writers used no doubt formerly to assume airs of supercilious condescension which must have been offensive to Americans. But those airs were dropped twenty or thirty years ago, and the travellers who return now return full of gratitude for the kindness they have received and full of admiration for the marvellous progress they have witnessed. We know all about the Irish faction; but the Irish faction do not account for this. So we quite understand that resentment was caused in the North and West of America by the attitude of our wealthy class during the Civil War. But that attitude was not the attitude of the British nation. We refused to join Louis Napoleon when he wished to recognize the Confederacy, and the mass of our people always gave their sympathy to the cause which they held to be the cause of freedom. As for the harm done by the carelessness which allowed the escape of the "Alabama," we went to arbitration upon that and paid a larger sum than the United States found itself able to allot. Our own

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commercial prosperity is so closely involved with that of the United States that we watch the movements of her commerce and the activity of her industries almost as narrowly as we do our own, and with nearly as direct a sympathy. She has grown enormously in resources and in power. We have watched that growth with a satisfaction unalloyed by jealousy, for we have regarded her as a mighty force for good in the world, certainly never dreaming that her force and ours could come into collision. We cannot imagine that she, with her immense wealth and population, can be apprehensive of ourselves or of any other power. She is too strong for that. Moreover, we have not sought to circumscribe her action or to stand in her way. Only two years ago when the question of Hawaii arose, and it seemed likely that she would take steps to annex those islands, or declare a protectorate over them, Lord Rosebery remained silent, though that silence displeased some few English Jingoes and disappointed not a few American Jingoes. Our press, whose tone often exasperates Continental nations, is almost uniformly respectful and friendly to America. What can we have done to provoke in the United States feelings so unlike those which we ourselves cherish ?"

In thus summing up what one has been hearing on all sides in Britain during the last fortnight, I am not exaggerating either the amazement or the regret with which the news of a threatened breach between the two countries was received. The average Englishman likes America far better than any foreign nation; he admires the "go," as he calls it, of your people, and is soon at home among you. In fact, he does not regard you as a foreign nation, as any one will agree who has noticed how different has been the reception given on all public occasions to your last four envoys, Messrs. Welsh, Lowell, Phelps, and Lincoln (as well as your present ambassador) from that accorded to the ambassadors of any other power. The educated and thoughtful Englishman has looked upon your Republic as the champion of freedom and peace, has held you to be our natural ally, and has even indulged the hope of a permanent alliance with you, under which the citizens of each country should have the rights of citizenship in the other and be aided by the consuls and protected by the fleets of the other all over the world. The sentiments which the news from America evoked were, therefore, common to all classes in England.

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After a few days people began to understand that Congress was not to be taken as necessarily representing the whole people, and understood also that the first vibrations of the chord of national sentiment—a chord which responds in all high-spirited peoples when they are told that their honor is affected—might be different from the deliberate convictions of the citizens when there had been time to enquire whether either national honor or national interests were in danger. It came to be known that many who had declared approval of the President's message had not understood it to mean war, and that influential bodies regretted its tone, and that the Christian churches were pleading for peace and good-will. Thus the tension relaxed. Men felt it impossible to suppose that we could find ourselves fighting with the people we like best in the world for a matter we knew nothing about till a month ago, a matter which we had cared nothing about until the language of menace was used, and a matter in which we have a scarcely perceptible interest, and you an interest even smaller.

A shock has been given to public confidence, not only in the spheres of commerce and finance, but in other spheres also. A postponement, which may prove fatal, of the efforts of Britain to save the Armenian Christians from extermination has most unhappily followed. Nor are we entitled to assume that all danger is over, though some of us will not believe that a shot will ever be fired by either people against the other until it has been fired. But the results of the crisis will not have been wholly unfortunate if it leads us in Britain to study and comprehend better the lines upon which opinion is moving in the United States, if it rouses both people to try to eliminate any causes for reciprocal jealousy or offence which may be removable, and if it hastens the establishment of a permanent system of arbitration for the settlement of all grounds of difference between them. Already those in both countries who realize not only the material evils of war, but the incalculable and abiding injury war inflicts on the moral and political life of a nation, have been awakened to a warmer love of peace and a keener sense of kinship, just as the imminence of a complete rupture sometimes renews the affection of estranged relatives and leads to reconciliation. Englishmen, many of whom would have no great dislike to a war with some other power (for there is a

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great deal of the pugnacity of Henry the Fifth's time left among us), are thoroughly pacific in this instance, and that not merely or perhaps chiefly from prudence, but because they feel that a war with America would be a civil war, in which even victories could bring no glory—*bella nullos habitura triumphos.* Thousands of us have dear friends on the other side of the Atlantic. How could we rejoice in what would afflict them? or they in what would afflict us?

Englishmen have also, I think, an open mind on the boundary question. They have not yet looked into it, and they are prepared to do so with a wish to be fair. Passion has not yet been aroused, and will not be, except by the language of menace. No division of political opinion has so far arisen, a fact rare enough to be remarkable, for many questions of foreign policy have been hotly contested in Britain within the last thirty years, and in every case where aggression on another state was suspected there have been warm protests, sometimes vehement party struggles. If, therefore, any part of the case for British Guiana is shown to be weak, public opinion will, I believe, refuse to press it, and we shall not be ashamed to own ourselves mistaken. Every one desires that an honorable way out of the present difficulty may be found. If the same temper prevails on the other side of the ocean—as we trust and believe it does—that way will be found.

JAMES BRYCE.

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PRACTICAL POLITICS.

BY THE HON. F. T. GREENHALGE, GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

THE practical politician is the necessary outcome of practical politics as we find them to-day. A general understanding of the character of the practical politician is therefore indispensable in the consideration of what practical politics are, and what they ought to be. And we must recognize the fact that the practical politician even now has his uses and his merits, as well as his vices and his defects.

He is loyal, diligent, indefatigable in the support of his party and its candidates. The genuine practical politician never bolts the ticket, and he never forgets or forgives the man who does. He is versed in all the learning of political mechanism; he knows just when a caucus is to be held; what States hold elections in any particular year; what majorities were given at this or that election; what "out" there is in any candidate.

If any question of principle arises, he refers glibly to the last party platform; that is his bible, gospel and law In fact, he looks upon principle as a kind of imposture which it may be necessary to employ—not, however, for the wise and intelligent, but for the ignorant mass which is to be cajoled and taken in.

As I have said, he is loyal in a certain sense and to a certain degree. He is a Dugald Dalgetty enlisted for the campaign; he is, as the lawyers might say, true *ad litem*. He has an inexorable rule by which he can determine whether a public man is politically dead or politically very much alive and at the front, or, as he would say, "on top." He is present at all political gatherings of his own party, and sometimes at those of the other parties. Neither rain, nor heat, nor business, nor family cares, ever prevent him from being on hand where any political business is to be transacted. In his moral character he ranks well

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with the average of mankind. He is, as a rule, neither licentious nor intemperate. His views of principle in ordinary affairs of life do not apply to the business of politics. His justification of questionable transactions brought up to him for discussion by his wife and daughters is that such matters do not fall within the realm of ordinary moral rules; they belong to the mysterious domain of politics.

He comes to think that he makes and unmakes political careers and political reputations ; that, after all, he is the mainspring, the force and the regulator of the body politic—to which term he gives a much narrower meaning than the true one. He reverences the machine, because he regards himself as the machine, or as a large part of it ; he loves details—he is a detail himself. Principles—great movements of the people—a candidate who has shot into the firmament like a new star, without having been put there, and lighted like a lamp, these things disconcert and irritate him. The "slate" is more important to him than *Magna Charta* or any conceivable constitution. The "slate" must not be imperilled by revolutionary forces. And he says, in the spirit of Louis XIV.: "The Slate, it is I." He relies greatly upon what he calls the "farmer vote," the "soldier vote," the "labor vote," etc., etc., etc., and can tell you exactly and precisely why a candidate will or will not get one or the other of these class votes, which he firmly believes are always cast *en bloc.* He cannot realize the inherent independence and power of reasoning of thousands of soldiers, farmers or workingmen.

He is a profound believer in thaumaturgy, in *coups d'état,* in surprises. He says : "Wait, wait ; this campaign is young yet; something will drop—about—let me see—well, about six—no, five days from now." He always has the air of accurate calculation, of guarded and judicial statement ; he is a Delphic oracle, able to prove himself an infallible prophet, whatever happens.

He regards the giving of his vote as a personal favor to be returned by personal favors. A public official who distributes offices among his personal friends and relations, he considers worthy of all commendation. "Why shouldn't a man stick by his friends—why shouldn't he help his family? This method of dealing with the public service is an evidence of a noble and generous heart." Family and friends are realities. The state,

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the country, the public? These are mere "platform" words and are not real entities.

The type of practical politician now under consideration is a "professional," living for politics and living out of politics. He does much political work, but only on the *quid pro quo* principle. "The laborer is worthy of his hire," he says with great gusto, for he loves to defend his position by scriptural quotations. He must be "recognized," and he is eager to point out to the raw recruit also that for everything *he* does, *he* must be "recognized." He loves to go to some young patriot burning with devotion to his state or his city, who has swept the corrupt element of a convention like chaff before the Sirocco-like wind of his scorching invective, and whisper to him that the reform nominee is bound to give him such and such a place, "because you made his nomination possible."

But with all his faults, his follies, his amusing characteristics, it must be remembered that he is a *constant force* He never lets anything go by default. He is, indeed, a machine, tireless, fearless, conscienceless, and remorseless—at least in his own sphere of action.

He insists upon the unreality of things. A is popular and always commands applause. To make B "popular," all that is necessary is to furnish the applause. C never seeks an office—the office seeks him. D can be put in the same class as C—a petition of a hundred, a thousand, names, can be got at a very small figure and with very little labor But the "practical politician" seldom or never deceives the public by these ingenious but shallow devices. It is easy to distinguish the true from the false—the diamond from the paste.

Again, our politician places much dependence upon money. He assumes a cold, practical air—a great idea is mentioned to him, a plan which will really call a sluggish people to arms—but he says coldly and cynically: "Yes, but where's the money?" And many men who have started in politics with an idea, with a sentiment, with an inspiration, being beaten down, have become doubly and more the advocates of Mammon. The new doctrine is so practical, they become really ashamed of their ideals; they go to the farthest extreme of the meanest and basest practical politics, and actually seek to hide the early and noble ideals which their young manhood cherished.

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The practical politician firmly believes that the sole measure of a man's fitness for an office is the ability to get it. Competency, education, experience, honesty, are merely "platform" words—strong, but of no real significance. In fact, the less ability the candidate has for a place, the more ability he displays in securing it "He has a right to aspire—it is an honorable ambition—and he isn't ashamed to say what he wants and to set his friends to work." This is the language of the so-called practical politician. He admires nothing so much as the brutal frankness of a selfish, sordid creature, whose stupidity makes him proud of his infamy.

Of course there is a very different stripe of "practical politicians." There are men of conscience, intelligence and patriotic purpose. They have made their influence felt in many ways—chiefly in local or municipal politics—where, in fact, the widest field is open to their efforts. These are men who believe that the grandest "recognition" their devoted labors can receive is in the strengthening and purifying of the body politic, in honest and economic modes of administration; in extending public benefits to the whole public, and diffusing the blessings of good government, as the Almighty diffuses the sunshine, over each and all alike.

Politics so often deal with ignoble things—things of the earth, "earthy"; things of the pocket, of the sewer, of the gutter; with disagreeable people, disagreeable places. Patient labor, self-denial, sacrifice are needed. Comfort, pleasure, luxuries, necessities must be given up to ensure success. Rebuffs, insults, calumny, ridicule, defeat and disaster, must be met and overcome. This is the environment, these the factors, which confront the earnest, patriotic man.

The prospect herein outlined is not encouraging. No wonder that young men of refinement, of ambition, of honesty, of aspiration, glowing with patriotic purpose, eager to serve their fellowmen, shrink from the herculean task confronting them here. But this is the place, and here are the materials, where and with which great souls have labored and have been victorious. Liberty, justice, equality, education and progress in every direction, have been set free from just such elements as these, or worse than these, and have emerged shapes of glory and strength to gladden and comfort mankind. And even now the strong soul

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can find his loveliest Ideal imprisoned somewhere in this sordid Actual. Thomas Carlyle, in his grim eloquent way, says, in *Sartor Resartus*, Book II., chapter IX. :

"Yes, here in this poor, miserable, hampered, despicable Actual, wherein thou even now standest, here or nowhere is thy Ideal. Work it out, therefrom, and, working, believe, live, be free. Fool ! the Ideal is in thyself, the impediment, too, is in thyself ; thy Condition is but the stuff thou art to shape that same Ideal out of. What matters whether such stuff be of this sort or that, so the Form thou give it be heroic—be poetic ? O thou that pinest in the imprisonment of the Actual, and criest bitterly to the Gods for a Kingdom wherein to rule and create, 'know this of a truth : the thing thou seekest is already with thee, here or nowhere, couldst thou only see ! "

Truer or more inspiring words than these were never written. Out of the mud, the uncleanness, the dishonors, of the Actual and the practical, it is permitted to the true man, to the patriot and hero of this practical age, to mould the grandest Ideals into realities, living, breathing, working for good. But the heroic, patriotic spirit is indispensable. No *dilletante* devotion, no narrow, selfish ambition, will have the power to effect these magic results.

Now, while it is necessary to be right—in order to command success—*it is not enough to be right.* Having determined on what is right, in a given case, you cannot send out your purpose like a stray child to be abused, deceived and beaten; a strong, well-equipped escort must accompany and guard that purpose, able to deal with friends and foes, to protect in every way the interests of their charge. How to launch a noble purpose at the right time, to provision it, to equip it, so that it may meet the storms which are sure to come, is the true study of the true and honest practical politican. He must be wise as the serpent, and harmless as the dove *to the State.*

Tact in an honest cause is almost as valuable as virtue. Knowledge of men is as necessary to a good man as to a bad one. Too often, the reformer imitates the example of Mr. Tupman, who, when Mr. Pickwick broke through the ice, rushed across the fields shouting "fire," leaving Mr Pickwick to his fate.

Can a politican be pure and practical ? Yes. Must he be visionary in order to be virtuous ? Emphatically, no. Truth and justice need less management than falsehood and injustice.

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But intelligent, well-disciplined forces are necessary even to the cause of truth and justice. Prospero must ever be on the alert even if Caliban is his only enemy.

Why does an honest, patriotic man take office? Office seldom enriches the honest, patriotic man. A list of the leading American public men to-day will establish this fact. Most of them are lucky if they have a competency, or indeed escape bankruptcy. One of the moving causes, then, must be "that last infirmity of noble minds," ambition, the love of fame, of popular applause—in short, of glory. But is there not blended with this motive, in many cases, a passionate love of country, an intense longing innate in great souls

> "To scatter blessings o'er a smiling land,
> And read their history in a nation's eyes?"

The sense of power exercised by a great man for the welfare of his country, of his fellow-men, must make him feel as nearly divine as anything can.

The ordinary practical office-holder is not borne up by any of these visions of glory. The reward of faithful and patient service is the respect and affection of those who come in contact with him, and he consoles himself by reflecting that even if he has only been charged to drive a nail into the timbers, or to caulk the seams, of the ship of state, these simple services are telling their honest story every day that the majestic fabric floats.

Men must make a living, too, and men of wonderful ability can be found in just such subordinate stations who can accomplish great results when directed by others, but who are weak and inefficient when acting for themselves.

The conclusion of the whole matter then is that high and noble aims must be supplemented by careful, patient, intelligent labor—by unselfish courage and fidelity. And the people themselves must regard public service more justly, if not more charitably, than they seem to do at present. The outlook is encouraging; a better, nobler, more patriotic spirit is abroad in the country; men are finding that they must not censure, but act—that they themselves are largely responsible for what they condemn, and upon the whole, I believe, we are approaching a new and better era of "practical politics."

F. T. GREENHALGE.

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THE INCREASED PRODUCTION OF GOLD.

BY EDWARD ATKINSON.

A QUESTION is gradually shaping itself in the minds of men who take a long look ahead which in an apparently simple form yet involves most complex problems. That question is: "What will be the effect of the great annual additions to the world's stock of gold which are now certain to be made for many years to come?" This additional supply of gold is produced under very different conditions from those under which the last great supply was added when the gold product of California and Australia was developed. At that time the greater part of the gold was derived from placer mines by surface washing or from separate and distinct deposits or pockets corresponding to the Comstock lode. For many years this product was developed by chance and not by science: the profits were attained indiscriminately by common laborers—by men wholly ignorant of mining, or by men of science, aptitude and previous education. It was subject to no rule and there could be no estimate of the cost of production either in terms of labor, in terms of exchange for the goods and wares consumed in the processes, or by any comparison with general prices.

The present product of gold is being developed under totally different conditions. The sources of gold are the great "reefs" of South Africa, doubtless corresponding to the original sources of the gold which was found in the gravels of California and Australia; or in corresponding veins or "chimneys" in Cripple Creek and other corresponding places in this country or in Australia; or in a huge area of clay gravels lying between the Andes and the sea in Ecuador in which the gold is held in suspension throughout the mass, and not merely in the "pay dirt at the bottom of a deep bed of loose gravel as in California.

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While there are still many chances in prospecting for gold, yet the working of the principal deposits is no longer to any extent a matter of chance. It has become a branch of regular industry to which mechanical and chemical science has been most fully applied—in which labor and capital are worked together under intelligent direction—and of which the cost of production can in many instances be computed with a very close approach to accuracy. In other words, while one may look on in wonder and amazement at the feats in the "Kaffir Circus" and wonder which of the performers will win at the loss of all the rest, yet underlying all that excitement, men of the most profound ability are computing the cost of manufacturing gold ingots as deliberately as other men compute the cost of pig iron, steel bars or cotton fabrics, and in a considerable measure they are dealing with known and established factors in reaching their conclusions.

This work is being conducted in four different continents at the same time by men of the English-speaking race operating upon deposits of immense potential of which the product will be limited only by the cost of production and by the world's demand, but of which the supply must be in excess of any previous quantity ever brought to the knowledge of mankind. These deposits being in South Africa, in Australia, in Ecuador and in the Western States and Territories of North America from Alaska to California inclusive, substantially all this work is being done under the safe conditions of English law; the treaties with Ecuador assuring fairly safe conditions in the conduct of the work in a state which constitutes the single exception in not being under the governmental control of the English-speaking people.

Before we can comprehend these changed conditions and their prospective influence, the monetary events of a century must be condensed into a single page. Under the relatively unsafe and unscientific conditions of the period from 1801 to 1850 inclusive, before the discoveries of gold in California and Australia had begun to affect supplies, the product of gold of the world had been a little under eight hundred million dollars ($800,000,000), which was added to the world's stock at the average rate of sixteen million dollars ($16,000,000) a year. Then came the wild excitement, the great supply from the gold washings from the Comstock lode and other events. In twenty years, from 1851 to 1870 inclusive, the addition to the world's

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stock of gold amounted to a fraction under twenty-six hundred million dollars ($2,600,000,000), at the average rate of one hundred and thirty million dollars ($130,000,000) a year. Soon after 1870 came the disturbance in the monetary systems which led to the legal tender legislation of 1872 and 1873 in Germany and the United States, followed by the action of the Latin Union and of India, the end of which changes was to establish gold as the unit of value among the great commercial nations. After 1870 there was a moderate falling off in the production of gold, and the change in the methods of its production began. From 1871 to 1890 inclusive the amount added to the world's stock of gold was a little over twenty-two hundred million dollars ($2,200,000,000) at the average rate of one hundred and ten million dollars ($110,000,000) a year. In 1891 the influence of these changed conditions and the application of science to mines, reefs and deposits under a system of regular industry led to an immense and constant increase of the supply. If the estimate for the year 1895 is attained, there will have been added to the world's stock of gold in five years, 1891 to 1895 inclusive, over eight hundred and twelve million dollars ($812,000,000), at the average rate of one hundred and sixty-two million dollars ($162,000,000) a year, the present year probably yielding two hundred million dollars ($200,000,000), the average production of gold only in this five years amounting to more than the average product of gold with silver added at its former coinage valuation in the period from 1851 to 1870, when California and Australia were yielding their greatest supplies of gold.

Having thus compared the conditions of what may be called the manufacture of gold and silver ingots in the period from 1850 to 1890 with those governing the same branch of manufacture in 1891 to 1895 inclusive, we may now approach the problem presented by the title of this paper: What will be the influence of this great increase in the production of ingots of gold under the present conditions of order, safety, and the application of science to mines of regular industry, these conditions corresponding closely to those which govern the production of iron, copper, and other metals?

In dealing with this problem the writer will assume that the world's commercial unit of value is now fully and finally established. It is a fixed weight of gold incorporated in ingots or in

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coins manufactured from ingots of gold; silver ingots and silver coin having been displaced by the final recognition of the fact that there can be but one monetary unit or standard of value at one time, to which or by which unit all other products including silver will be rated; that is to say, all prices will be finally established at a given ratio in each of four seasons making one year, by their estimation or rating to this single gold standard.

This leads directly to the consideration of prices and wages. In order to get some clue to the influence of sudden and great increase in the manufacture of ingots of gold at a lessened cost at the present time one may rightly attempt to measure the influence of the same great and sudden increase in the production of gold from 1850 to 1870. But in order even to begin to comprehend the elements of this problem one must give a hasty glance over the industrial history of the nineteenth century, in which the great applications of science and invention have displaced the handicrafts of the earlier period in all the arts—in which period the great commerce of the world in the necessaries of life has been developed—in which period the obstruction of distance has been sunk in a fraction of a cent a ton per mile in moving the necessaries of life from the uttermost parts of the world—and in which period also national debts, standing armies and national navies have reached a magnitude as impossible of being sustained without disaster as they are impossible of being removed without revolution. At the beginning of the century every nation, state, county district, and even every town and hamlet, was almost self-sustaining, each family producing for itself and storing in each year the larger part of its own product of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics of every kind. Between 1840 and 1850, immediately before the great additions to gold were made from California and Australia, the railway had begun to affect all commerce upon land and the steamship had begun to alter the conditions of international commerce, these two new factors leading rapidly to conditions which taken in connection with the increased application of mechanism to production might have been expected to cause a rapid reduction in the prices of all the necessaries of life corresponding to the reduction in the labor cost thereof. Such a general reduction in prices might perhaps have been anticipated except the medium of exchange and the credit system had alike become more adequate to meet the needs. The new supplies of gold served as the

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basis of that extension of credit and of that commerce. In place of a reduction in prices at the gold standard, after a period of considerable variation there was a gradual, and finally a rapid rise in prices, culminating in 1873. Hence the changes which under uniform or diminishing conditions of a supply of monetary metal might have brought about a reduction in prices was met by the increase in the volume of gold and by many other elements of change, notably by a greatly increased consumption of goods, with the effect named. The subsequent fall in prices since 1873 can be accounted for in respect to every leading article of commerce by further and more startling reductions either in the cost of production or in the cost of distribution without having any recourse to the moderate changes which have occurred in the relative supply of gold since that date down to the recent great additions. Space cannot be given in this article to any minute statement of these facts.

Such a discussion of prices would call for a consideration of the Austro-Prussian War, the Franco-Prussian War, and the War of the Rebellion in this country, with all the influences which these events exerted upon prices and upon monetary systems, especially the suspension of specie payments in most of the countries which were engaged in these wars. During that period Great Britain became the place of safe deposit of the civilized world, capital trending toward England from every quarter in order to be put under the security of the unimpaired gold unit of value of Great Britain. It may be held that when the people of this country become aware of their true interest, doing away with every doubt about the stability of the gold unit of value, the United States may become the safe deposit of nations whenever the great war ensues, which seems so near and yet so far away. But even if the passive war which is eating out the heart of Europe by heavy taxation and destructive expenditure should not culminate in active war, yet the capital and the best blood of Europe among the laboring people will inevitably trend toward this country in order to attain security for life and property, exemption from conscription and the opportunity to work under the conditions of safety which yield the high wages and good subsistence that are the complement or correlative of the low cost of production which prevails in this country.

After a few years of rapid reductions in prices a level has been

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reached subject only to the moderate changes due to varying seasons. The average prices for the last few years of the necessaries and comforts of life, of the metals and of most fabrics, has not varied materially from the averages of the years 1845 to 1850, just preceding the additions to gold. May it not be held under these conditions that the quantitative theory exercises its influence very slowly, but that in the very fact that the general level of prices of late years has not varied materially—being but very little less than those immediately preceding the enormous additions of gold—we have evidence that both gold and silver have lost a part of their purchasing power, silver having been depreciated by the greater abundance of gold and its substitution in bank reserves and as a unit or standard of value by the great commercial nations?

At the present time all civilized nations have become interdependent—the world has become one great neighborhood—all men live by an exchange of products or of services, and in spite of wars of tariffs and wars of monetary systems, which have in great measure survived the wars of race and creeds, men serve each other more and more in all the transactions in which money is made use of, or of which the terms of the exchange are stated and measured in terms of money. In order to reach even a glimmering comprehension of the influence of our annual increase of the metal of which true money is now made—true or good money meaning only that kind of coin which is worth as much after it is melted as it purports to be worth in the coin—we may make an approximate estimate of the annual transactions or exchanges, both domestic and foreign, of the four groups of machine-using nations whose product has been increased and whose cost of production has been diminished by science and invention. In this attempt to give a faint idea of the magnitude of the exchanges in which trade and commerce consists, I must use figures which are in my own judgment fairly well established, especially in respect to this country and by analogy in other countries. The product of the United States is ratably to population the largest, the cost of production the lowest, and consequently the wages or earnings of the people the largest when measured by quantity, or highest in money, as compared to all others. I compute the total product of this country at the present time at two hundred and twenty-five dollars' ($225) worth of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics per head.

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I then estimate other countries by analogy on this basis; this analogy being mainly established by the difference in the rates of wages or earnings, which being recovered from the sale of the product may be taken as a fair standard by which to estimate the relative product of the several states or nations.

United States: Population approximately 70,000,000—producing within its own area an excess of food, fuel, timber, ores and fibres—annual product computed at $225 per head...	$15,750,000,000
Great Britain and Ireland: Population approximately 40,000,000—deficient within its own area in food, ores and fibres—annual product computed at $170 per head.....	6,800,000,000
	$22,550,000,000
Germany, Belgium and the Netherlands: Population approximately 64,000.000—food barely adequate, often deficient; also deficient in fuel, timber and fibres—annual product computed at $125 per head.....	$8,000,000,000
France: Population approximately 40,000,000. Deficient in fuel, ores and fibres; rich in agriculture—annual product computed at $150 per head.....	6,000,000,000
Total population in round figures, 214,000,000.....	$36,550,000,000
These are approximate estimates only, which may serve to give a slight comprehension of the problem. Let it be assumed that one-fourth part of this product is consumed where it is produced, without purchase or sale, and therefore without the use of money; say.....	$9,550,000,000
Remainder.....	$27,000,000,000

The exports of domestic products of these countries amount in value to over $4,000,000,000, a sum which comes to a little under fifteen per cent. of the above valuation. As our own domestic exports are less than six per cent. of the valuation which I have put upon our product, this established sum of the exports of all named goes far to prove that the value of the subjects of all commerce, domestic and foreign, must be estimated at as much as $27,000,000,000 and probably more.

This remainder is an approximate measure in terms of money of the value of the subjects of trade and commerce of the countries named in this list only. But before these articles of food, fuel, fibres and fabrics reach the consumer they have been converted and reconverted from the crude to the finished condition and in each of these transformations there has been a purchase and a sale in terms of money. Each reader may follow in his own mind the transformation of the ores into mechanism and tools—of the timber into buildings, furniture, etc.—of the grain into bread, dairy products and meats—and of the fibres into clothing. I think at least three purchases and sales will be admitted as a moderate estimate. It follows that the transactions

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of these four groups in the distribution of $27,000,000,000 worth of products come to the incomprehensible sum of $71,000,000,000 a year at the present time. It is useless to attempt to reason on such a basis of figures since they convey little or no meaning to the mind of any one except for purposes of comparison, but by again reducing them to individual terms we may gain a clear view. If that sum be the measure of the trade of 214,000,000 people, the average is a fraction under three hundred and thirty-two dollars ($332) a year to each person in these transactions or purchases and sales.

In the United States the annual transactions measured in terms of money in goods and wares only unquestionably exceed $500 a year to each person, making the minimum volume of trade ($35,000,000,000) thirty-five billion dollars.

Again, the readers of this article may gain a clearer view of the nature of this problem by passing in review the number of purchases and sales which have been necessary in order to put three to five pounds of food on their tables each day for each member of their households, forty to fifty yards of textile fabrics per year on their backs, and a shelter over their heads. If they will again deal with distance as an element of commerce they will find that the sources of their food, clothing and shelter averaged over a thousand miles from their present dwelling places. Again, it will be observed that this is the measure of the commerce of only one-seventh of the population of the globe in goods and wares necessary to life without regard to land, stock and bonds.

We now begin to find a standard by which to compare the amount of gold now estimated to be in monetary use, customarily computed at about $4,000,000,000—and the annual addition which may reach in 1896, $214,000,000. On these estimates the existing quantity of gold in use would come to less than twenty dollars ($20) per head of these specific countries only, containing only one-seventh of the population of the globe, and the annual addition would be only one dollar ($1) per head in ratio to this seventh of the population.

It will be remarked that this annual product even if it reaches $214,000,000, will bear the ratio of only fifteen cents per head of the whole population of the globe now computed at over 1,400,000,000. Of this sum it is commonly held that one-half or more is used in the arts, yet it suffices as a monetary standard or

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unit of value, there being a greater mass of gold held in the reserves of banks than was ever known before.

It is by such computations that one may prevent himself from being dazed or misled by estimates of the production of gold computed in tens and hundreds of millions.

It will also be observed that even if a large margin must be allowed for errors in the computation of national product and of the volume of trade, yet diminish them or increase them as we may, the fact remains that, whatever may be the present or prospective product of gold in the near future, it bears but a mere fractional ratio to the large volume of trade of which it has become through a long process of natural selection the sole standard or unit of valuation, and such it will continue to be in spite of legal tender acts, treaties of legal tender called bimetallic, or any other device by which any attempt is made to compel men to use anything but the safest, surest, and most uniform unit or standard of value yet evolved in the experience of mankind.

This process of reasoning and these facts bring us to the inevitable conclusion that the work of the modern world is and must be conducted mainly by the use of instruments of credit and not by the use of coin of any kind.

On the other hand the necessary conclusion is that an adequate credit can only be established upon the sole unit of value which has become the world's monetary standard. That unit is gold passing by the measure of weight in the form of bars, ingots or coin.

In the face of the paramount necessity of the commerce of the machine-using nations which dominate the commerce of the globe, the attempt has failed to set up two standards or units, one of gold and one of silver—the increasing abundance of gold enabling this displacement of silver to be carried into effect without any serious temporary difficulty and without any adverse influence of a permanent character.

In 1850—that is to say in the middle of this century of the development of the great commerce of the world in the necessaries of life—the modern instrumentalities of the railway and the steamship had just begun to reduce the cost of these exchanges and to make an enormous increase of commerce possible. That increase of commerce required a corresponding increase in credit and again that increase of credit required a

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corresponding increase in the monetary metal which was then rapidly becoming the world's unit of value—namely gold. That demand was met by the supply from California and Australia.

We are now approaching the beginning of another century in which the forces which make for the development of commerce, for the increase of abundance and for the establishment of material welfare among men, are competent to give results of which the progress of the present century may be but a shadow. We are at the beginning only of the development of continents heretofore almost unknown and but little occupied. Witness the Trans-Siberian Railway with all that it portends—witness the opening of Africa and its passage from a *terra incognita* to one even now more fully developed than the prairies of our own country were little more than half a century since. Australia and New Zealand are now counted among the most progressive countries occupied by the English-speaking people and a beginning has been made in opening the ways of commerce in South America, now the single almost unknown land in its far but fertile and prolific pampas of the Argentine and Bolivia. In this development of continents the very search for gold is again one of the most potent influences making the way for the commerce which ensues, while at the same time supplying the basis of the credit which must be so rapidly extended in order to make the conduct possible of that increased commerce.

Upon this view of the necessities of trade, of the extension of credit, and of the movement of a huge and immeasurable increase in the exchanges of the world, the present and the prospective increase in the production of gold, while giving assurance of a supply adequate as a reserve for the vast extension of credit, yet presents no element of such an increase as to seriously affect its immediate value or estimation—that is to say, it will have no immediate or direct or quantitative influence upon prices and wages.

The present annual increase in the production of gold, although absolutely greater than even that of 1849 to 1870, is yet less in ratio to the vastly increased commerce of the world, for which it serves as a standard, and in the conduct of which it serves as the basis of credit or unit of redemption. It must now be observed, however, that there is not as great a margin for any further reduction in the cost of producing and distributing the necessaries of life among the great commercial nations at the

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present time as there was in the former period. The reduction in the cost of all commodities necessary to life has been more rapid than the reduction in the cost of producing gold. Hence, if the cost of producing gold under existing conditions should be greatly reduced, and the product should increase rapidly even on the present large amount of the output, then the quantitative theory may again influence prices in a long period. The purchasing power of gold or its ratio to all other commodities may, in that event, show itself by a depreciation which would manifest itself in a very gradual but general rise of prices on the gold standard, which may not be explained by changes in the cost of the production and distribution of the commodities themselves. Any such immediate effect, however, may not be at present anticipated, since the vastly increasing commerce of the world will probably absorb all the gold that can be produced for many years without any serious quantitative influence. On the other hand the assurance of a constant and regular supply of gold will give to this and all other countries in which the gold standard is subject to no doubt, a basis for credit and for the expansion of commerce, for the increase of abundance and yet more for the increase of consumption which is the end of all trade and commerce, which may exert a powerful influence on prices, especially on the prices of those great commodities which have in this country so recently been depressed even below the cost of production by the doubt as to the stability of our unit of value. This doubt was brought upon us by the incapacity of Congress and its submission to the demands of the misrepresentatives of the nation, who forced legislation in the interest of the mining camps of the silver-producing states.

On the other hand the increasing commerce of these great continents now in process of development will create a rapidly increasing use of silver as a subsidiary coin; which increasing demand meeting a somewhat diminished production may tend to raise the ratio of silver to gold which will find its expression in an advancing price of silver. Hence the conclusion that the present quantitative increase in the product of gold will meet an increasing demand and will have no direct influence upon the prices either of property or of products.

If these propositions are sustained by the facts in the case, their lesson to the people of this country is plain and simple.

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Among the machine-using nations of the world we hold the dominant control of iron, steel and copper. We, therefore, hold the paramount position in the production and in the application of the mechanism by which abundance is secured at the lowest cost, therefore yielding the highest rate of wages or remuneration to labor. We also hold the control of such share of the gold of the world as we may require as a basis for our credit, even if our own abundant product does not suffice. We may give our sympathy to the debt-burdened nations of Europe with which we compete while pitying them in their futile effort to sustain their huge standing armies and monstrous war fleets, the mere support of which reduces so large a portion of their people to the conditions of pauper laborers. We may wonder at the folly of those who would deprive us of our own position of advantage by their effort to destroy our credit in the interest of a few silver miners whose insignificant product has cost more than it has come to. Finally we may stamp with scorn and contempt upon the Jingoism of the hour which would put upon us the very burdens from which our competitors are trying to escape, but from which no escape except by violent revolution and long continued anarchy and disaster yet appears.

We may especially despise that type of Jingoism whose representatives try to break the peaceful relations of the English-speaking people, who are becoming more and more united in the pursuits of peace and order, and whose moral influence when once exerted in putting a final stop to the plunder of private property upon the sea even in time of war, may by-and-by give to our naval vessels the noble title of protectors of commerce in place of the degrading name of commerce destroyers by which some of our ships are now disgraced.

We may well deepen our harbors and widen their channels—we may well remove the natural and the legal obstructions to commerce so that our defence shall consist in the increasing service which we may render when "the ships that pass between this land and that shall be like the shuttle of the loom weaving the web of concord among the nations."

The foregoing text had been prepared in November. The publication has of necessity been delayed until the present number. In the interval an event of most profound significance has oc-

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curred—a threat of war among the English-speaking people. This threat has brought into conspicuous notice the inseparable character of the moral and political forces with the material interests of the people of this country and of Great Britain. It needed only the threat of war to cause the thinking people and the masses of the workmen alike of both countries to forbid such a crime against humanity. Out of that danger great progress may ensue.

In order to attract attention to the material interests imperilled and also to the nature of our commerce with the gold standard states of the world, the following statement of the commerce of the ten years from 1885 to 1894 is submitted :

	Exports. Per cent.	Amount. Exports.	Amount. Imports.	Imports. Per cent.
Great Britain and her Colonies	60.	$4,765,830,100	$2,468,475,746	33.60
Holland, Belgium, France and Germany	22.79	1,809,533,962	1,705,605,336	23.22
	82.78	$6,575,364,062	$4,174,081,082	56.82
All other countries	17.21	1,367,982,873	3,172,315,519	43.18
	100.	.....	$7,346,396,601	100.
Merchandise balance	.....	.....	596,950,334	.....
	.....	$7,943,346,935	$7,943,346,935	.....

These figures are very significant. Sixty per cent. of our exports, consisting in by far the largest measure of farm products, are bought of us upon a gold basis by Great Britain and her Colonies. Twenty-three per cent. of our exports, also consisting in largest measure of farm products, are bought by the several machine-using nations of Europe—France, Germany, Holland and Belgium. Only seventeen per cent. of our exports, consisting in larger measure of manufactured goods, are bought by all other countries; but that branch of our traffic is very rapidly increasing since the virtual control of the iron and steel manufacture has passed to this country, while the removal of duties on wool and other materials entering into the processes of our domestic manufactures have put us more nearly on an equality in the cost of materials with other nations.

Bearing in mind that this country will probably take the first rank in the production of gold this year and that in each year for the last ten years two hundred and fifty million dollars ($250,000,000) has been placed at our credit in pounds sterling in the banking centres of the world in settlement for the excess of our exports above our imports in our traffic with the machine-

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using nations, the fact becomes evident that this country holds a command over all the gold resources of the world. Nothing but our own incapacity as exhibited in Congress or the ill-advised action of the Executive in undoing the great service already rendered in the cause of sound finance by an ill-advised threat of war, can prevent the monetary system and the finances of this country being placed upon the most solid basis within a very short time. The logic of events is rapidly bringing every man who places sound legislation above party success to the necessity of making slow but sure payments of the demand debt of the country without making a new forced loan by reissuing any legal tender note that has been paid in coin. The masses of the country are becoming aroused to the fact that the worst attack that can be made upon their material interests is the forced circulation of bad money: good money, according to the admirable definition given by Cernuschi, the ablest leading advocate of bimetallism, being only that coin which stands the test of fire and which is worth as much after it has been melted as it purported to be worth in the coin.

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NOTE.—For an extended treatment of the economic elements of our commerce and their bearing upon this question see *Engineering Magazine* for February, 1896.

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IS THE HUMAN RACE DETERIORATING?

BY M. G. MULHALL, F. S. S.

AN impression seems to be gaining ground that the nations of Christendom are undergoing serious changes as regards vital statistics, that their rates of increase are declining, and that in the middle of the next century some nations will come to a stand-still, birth-rate and death-rate becoming equal. First, as regards birth-rate there are seven principal countries of Europe that possess complete and accurate statistics for fifty-two years, which show as follows:

	Births yearly per 1,000 population.		
	1841-60	1861-80	1883-92
England	33.4	35.1	31.9
France	26.7	25.8	23.3
Prussia	38.C	39.1	37.4
Austria	40.3	39.0	37.7
Holland	34.9	36.3	33.7
Belgium	30.2	32.0	29.9
Scandinavia*	32.3	31.3	29.9
Mean rate	33.8	34.1	32.0

In every one of the above nations the birth-rate for ten years ending 1892 shows a marked decline, and therefore the main fact relied upon by alarmists is indisputable. The inference, however, which they draw from this fact is erroneous and absurd. Had they taken the trouble to compare birth and death rates they would have found that the natural increase, that is the surplus of births over deaths, has been much greater (in Europe) during the last ten years than at any previous period of which we have statistical returns. The explanation, of course, is that death-rates have declined more than birth-rates. Paradoxical as it may seem, a falling birth-rate often indicates a rising increase of population, as will be seen on comparing the rates of the decade 1883–92 with those of any previous term of years. For ex-

* The statistics of Sweden, Norway and Denmark are taken collectively, as if they were provinces of one nation.

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ample let us compare the figures for the said decade with those for a term of twenty years ending 1880, viz:

	1861–80.			1883–92.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
England	35.1	22.0	13.1	31.9	19.2	12.7
France	25.8	24.0	1.8	23.3	22.2	1.1
Prussia	39.1	27.1	12.0	37.4	24.4	13.0
Scandinavia	31.3	19.0	12.3	29.9	17.3	12.6
Austria	39.0	30.8	8.2	37.7	29.0	8.7
Hungary	42.6	39.4	3.2	43.6	32.5	11.1
Italy	37.2	29.9	7.3	37.8	27.2	10.6
Holland	36.3	24.6	11.7	33.7	20.9	12.8
Belgium	32.0	22.7	9.3	29.9	20.9	9.0
Average	35.4	26.6	8.8	33.9	23.7	10.2

The mean annual rate of increase for the above nine nations rose from 8.8 in the period 1861–80 to 10.2 in the decade 1883–92, that is to say from 8,800 to 10,200 per million of population. In other words, the natural increase of Europe proceeds now at 16 per cent. greater speed than in the period 1861–80. This evident fact disposes of all the assertions and theories connected with the supposed deterioration of the human race. Nevertheless, it may be interesting to pursue the subject further by comparing the number of legitimate births in each country with that of marriages:

LEGITIMATE BIRTHS PER 100 MARRIAGES.

	1861-80.	1888-92.		1861-80.	1888-92.
England	385	389	Italy	411	451
France	282	284	Holland	407	457
Germany	401	420	Belgium	379	369
Austria	362	414	Sweden	372	425
Hungary	375	444	Denmark	320	401

The mean rate in the first period was 369, and in the second 405, being an advance of 10 per cent., that is to say 10 families now have as many children as 11 had before 1880. The question naturally arises, why should marriages be more prolific now than before? Because the marriage-rate has declined, and there is an invariable law respecting the human race, that as the ratio of marriages to population rises the number of children to each marriage will fall, and *vice versa*, as will be seen hereafter. For the present let us compare the marriage-rates in the above two periods:

MARRIAGES YEARLY PER 10,000 POPULATION.

	1861-80.	1888-92.		1861-80.	1888-92.
England	83	76	Italy	75	76
France	79	73	Holland	81	70
Prussia	86	83	Belgium	73	74
Austria	87	77	Sweden	69	59
Hungary	93	87	Denmark	77	69

The marriage-rate has fallen heavily in all countries except Belgium and Italy: the mean rate for the 10 countries was 80 in

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the first period, and 74 in the second, being equivalent to a fall of 7½ per cent., which is quite sufficient to explain the decline of birth-rate that has been already noticed. Is it reasonable to expect the birth-rate to remain unaltered while the marriage-rate shows so heavy a fall? As to the causes of this fall they are numerous and diversified, the principal being agricultural depression, military service and emigration · all these have operated in the same direction, and with special force since 1880. To illustrate the effects of agricultural depression and emigration we have only to take the case of Ireland, where the marriage-rate has fallen to 47 per 10,000 inhabitants, the rate for Europe being 74. Indeed, when we consider the fall in prices of all agricultural products throughout Europe, since 1880, we cannot be surprised that it has seriously affected the rural population and reduced the marriage-rate.

We have seen in the foregoing tables that, while the marriage-rate has declined since 1880, the average number of children to a marriage has increased. In like manner those countries with a low marriage-rate will have a much larger ratio of children to each marriage than those in which the marriage-rate is high, viz.:

	Marriage Rate per 10,000 Pop.	Legit. Births to 100 Marriages.
Ireland	47	476
Sweden	59	425
Holland	70	457
England	76	389
Austria	77	414

Before going further it may be well to set down here the facts elucidated from the preceding tables.

1. The birth-rates of seven principal European nations have declined notably since 1880.

2. The decline in death-rates has been still greater, and the surplus of births over deaths is not falling, but rising.

3. Some nations with a low birth-rate have a greater natural increase than others with the highest birth-rate.

4. Marriage-rates have declined since 1880, but the number of children to a marriage has increased in every country except Belgium.

5. The natural increase of population has proceeded with greater rapidity since 1880 than before.

There is, meantime, no reason to anticipate any inconvenience from this increased rapidity of growth. At the close of the

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eighteenth century Malthus alarmed Europe by his theory that population increased too fast for the public welfare: this view was successfully impugned by Nassau Senior, who showed "that the means of subsistence have a tendency to increase faster than population," and the experience of the nineteenth century bears out Professor Senior's dogma. When Malthus wrote, the labor of a peasant sufficed to raise food for ten persons: at present in the United States a male adult can raise food for 120 persons. Nevertheless, the shade of Malthus seems to haunt many journalists and other writers of our time. They cannot see that under ordinary circumstances an increase of population means an increase of wealth and prosperity. Thinly populated countries, like Russia, Spain, and Ireland, are steeped in poverty, while populous ones, such as England, Belgium, and Germany, are in an affluent condition. The rate of wages is always highest where population is dense, lowest (as in Russia or Spain) where there are less than 100 persons to the square mile. If there is much misery in Europe it is not because of surplus population, but for divers causes that need not here be enumerated.

So much for the Old World: let us now come to the United States, where the rate of increase of population has been steadily declining, the successive decades showing as follows:

Period.	Increase per cent.	Period.	Increase per cent.
1831-40	32.7	1861-70	22.6
1841-50	35.9	1871-80	30.1
1851-60	35.6	1881-90	24.9

This decline can only be explained in one of three ways: First, a falling off in the number of immigrants as compared with population; secondly, a diminution of natural increase; thirdly, an outflow of population to Europe or elsewhere. If we compare the ratio of foreigners to population we find that so far from any falling-off or outflow of returning emigrants, the foreign population in 1890 stood as 15 per cent. of the total, having never before reached so high a proportion. We turn then to the question of natural increase, that is, the rise in the American-born population from one census to the next, the result of which is briefly as follows.

	American-born Population.		
Period.	Annual increase.	Mean pop.	Rate of increase.
1831-40	370,000	15,000,000	24.6
1841-50	473,000	20,100,000	23.5
1851-60	636,000	27,300,000	23.3
1861-70	569,000	35,000,000	16.3
1871-80	1,049,000	44,400,000	23.6
1881-90	989,000	56,400,000	17.5

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Here we find that, excepting the decade 1861–70, in which occurred the war for the Union, the annual rate of increase of American-born population was almost uniform, say, 23½ per thousand, and that in the final decade, 1881–90, it fell to 17½. It is not easy to ascertain the cause for this decline, there being no statistics of births and deaths for the Union. That there has been a decline is beyond all doubt, for if we compare the ages of the population at each succeeding census, we find a steady fall in the ratio of children, as the following table shows:

PERSONS UNDER 15 YEARS IN 1,000 OF POPULATION.

1840	437	1870	387
1850	416	1880	381
1860	399	1890	368

This declining ratio has been coincident with an extraordinary increase of urban population (cities and towns over 8,000 souls) since 1840, as follows:

	Urban pop.	Rural.	Total.	Urban percentage.
1840	1,940,000	15,120,000	17,060,000	11.4
1850	3,330,000	19,870,000	23,190,000	14.3
1860	5,072,000	26,371,000	31,443,000	16.1
1870	7,640,000	30,920,000	38,560,000	19.8
1880	11,319,000	38,837,000	50,156,000	22.6
1890	18,265,000	44,357,000	62,622,000	29.2

The reasonable inference from the above tables is that the overcrowding of population in cities is unfavorable to children. The evidence, however, is not conclusive, since European nations have had in like manner a rapid growth of urban population, and their rate of increase is, nevertheless, ascending. Moreover, notwithstanding the above decline, we find that the ratio of children in the United States is higher than in European countries, viz.:

PERSONS UNDER 15 YEARS, PER 1,000 INHABITANTS.

France	266	Ireland	325	England	352
Switzerland	318	Belgium	335	Germany	355
Italy	323	Austria	338	Norway	361
Sweden	323	Scotland	349	United States	368

The superiority of the United States in the ratio of children is one of those characteristics of the American race that defy explanation. It does not by any means imply that the birth rate is higher than in the countries of the Old World, seeing that Norway has the highest ratio of children in Europe, although her birth-rate is lower than those of England, Germany, Austria, Italy, Holland, or Denmark. Possibly the span of life in the United States is much shorter than in Europe, and if this be so the proportion of persons under fifteen years of age will, of course, be much greater than if the climate were disposed to longevity.

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Comparatively few people in the United States pass the age of 60, as will appear if we take the ratio of those who had reached that age in the census of 1890 among the population over 20 years old, and compare the same with other countries.

PERSONS OF 60 OR MORE YEARS IN 1,000 OVER 20 YEARS.

United States	107	Prussia	139
Austria	126	Italy	140
England	134	Belgium	166
Sweden	137	Ireland	196

The number of persons over 20 who may expect to reach 60 years is much less in the United States than in Europe. It would be interesting to know whether the birth-rate and death-rate are higher than in Great Britain or certain other countries. In his valuable and thoughtful report on the census of 1880 Dr. Billings estimates the normal birth-rate at 34, death-rate 18, increase 16 per thousand. He discriminates between urban and rural death-rate as follows:

	Population.	Deaths.	Death-rate.
Urban	11,320,000	252,000	22.3
Rural	38,837,000	651,000	16.8
Total	50,157,000	903,000	18.0

There is no reason to question his accuracy as to death-rate, but he appears to put the birth-rate too low, at 34, since the surplus of births over deaths in the last decade was 17.5 per thousand. Hence we must suppose the American birth-rate to be 35.5, which compares with the rates of some European countries, thus—

	Per 1,000 inhabitants yearly.		
	Births.	Deaths.	Increase.
United States	35.5	18.0	17.5
Prussia	37.4	24.4	13.0
Italy	37.8	27.2	10.6

As regards the population of the United States it is surprising that the colored race is declining, although much more prolific than the whites. Dr. Billings states that 1,000 white women between 15 and 49 years of age will give birth yearly to 127 children and 1,000 colored women to 164 children; but so high is infant mortality among negroes that their rate of increase is much slower than among whites, the colored population having now fallen below 12 per cent. of the total, as compared with 16 per cent. in 1850.

And here it may be apropos to make a forecast of the population

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of the United States for the census years 1900 and 1910 compared with 1880 and 1890, viz.:

	1880.	1890.	1900.	1910.
White Americans	36,829,000	45,902,000	56,020 000	68,4 0,000
Colored population	6,647,000	7,470,000	8,360 000	9,400,000
Foreigners	6,680,000	9,250 000	10,720,000	12,200,000
Total	50,156,000	62,622,000	75,100,000	90,000,000

The area of the United States, excluding Alaska, is just 3,000,000 square miles; the average density of the New England States is 71 inhabitants to the square mile, so that it may be said that the Union could easily support 210,000,000 souls, or three times its present population.

Meantime other vast fields are opening to invite immigrants. Canada, Brazil, Spanish America, and Australia are each of them larger than the United States. Each of them could find room for 200,000,000 settlers, which shows that there is no motive to fear that the world will be overcrowded for many centuries to come.

MICHAEL G. MULHALL.

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THE STUDY OF WAR.

BY CAPTAIN H. C. TAYLOR, U. S. N., PRESIDENT OF THE NAVAL WAR COLLEGE.

THERE have been periods when the existence of war was accepted by the world as an item of life and human relations; a glorious thing to the few, a disaster to the many; but to all an established fact, as much so as disease or bad weather. There were advantages in this recognition of its existence; people prepared their minds for it in some sort, commerce watched it closely, towns built their walls for it, it startled people's minds less and shocked their moral sensibilities not at all. Beyond these advantages was a greater one; this acceptance of war as a fact caused some preparation for it to be undertaken during peace. Being upon the schedule of events arrangements were made to meet it, as if it were an expected rainy season, not beginning upon any fixed date, but certain to come finally.

Some of these arrangements were crude and clumsy; the world has not always had the science that equips Roman legions and Prussian Guard regiments, nor the art that instructs leaders and instills in officers the lofty spirit of command. War has had its dark ages, its intervals of semi-barbarity; the fleets that ranged themselves at Lepanto under the opposing standards of Ali Pasha and Don Juan of Austria knew little of the art of war as practised in its thoroughness by the Greek fleets under Phormio, twenty centuries before. The battles of Von Moltke compared with those of Chevalier Bayard and of Roland at Roncesvalles indicate on the other hand advances in the military art, equalling any that history records in literature or science. Awkward as these efforts frequently were the idea of war as a permanent factor of life was in people's minds, and its existence did not therefore produce such mental disturbance and discon-

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tent as latterly, nor generate doubts as to the wisdom of the Providence that sways the universe.

This mental acceptance of war is clearly not a characteristic of our times. Whatever may have been the temper of Christendom in other centuries, the present is surely a generation of peace. Nothing save national indisposition to fight could have permitted the growing armies of France and Germany during the last twenty-five years, to perfect themselves in war preparation without a blow being struck. That these fine dogs of war, trained through a quarter of a century within sight and hearing of each other, have not been let slip, is a sure sign that their owners have no present stomach for conflict. England during forty years of steady work in her dockyards swells her naval force to enormous proportions, but in all that time strikes no blow with her fleet. Russia, opposed in her expansion southward and westward, turns her thoughts eastward rather than fight, and overruns the desert, content with incorporating into the Empire some Tartar nomads. Italy finds some faint flashes of conflict with the untrained Abyssinians fully satisfying any slight pugnacity in the present mood of her people. And the United States, growing into greatness and changing while we gaze from an unimportant confederation of states to an imperial Republic of limitless resource, rests satisfied with a force afloat and ashore unbefitting the dignity of her high estate. Peace societies, national and international, are everywhere. Arbitration is urged to prevent wars, and great numbers of educated people honestly believe that within a century or even a generation this or some other means will cause wars to cease. A feeling has thus been generated that war is wrong, absolutely immoral; an evidence of man's wickedness, as thunder and lightning have sometimes been regarded as the manifestation of a deity's anger.

A thorough consideration of this subject develops ethical points of great interest, but occupies too much space in a discussion confined simply to the study of war. Something may be said, however, to those who take for granted the needlessness and immorality of war. Ruskin, in one of his addresses, lays great stress upon its value for creating ideals in art. He doubts the possibility of obtaining the architectural triumphs of Italy, the paintings of Rubens, or the plays of Shakespeare without the lofty attitude of mind induced by the contemplation

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of stormy and heroic periods of history. He holds that the growing consciousness during wars, that dying is not the worst of all things and that honorable death is preferable to ignoble life, is a motive for high endeavor in art.

He says: "The pure and noble arts of peace are founded upon war; no great art ever yet rose on earth except among a nation of soldiers. There is no art among a shepherd people if it remains at peace. There is no art among an agricultural people if it remains at peace. Commerce is barely consistent with fine art, but cannot produce it. Manufacture is not only unable to produce but invariably destroys whatever seeds of it exist. There is no art possible to a nation but that which is based upon battle."

Not alone is this true of the artistic spirit; the moral nature is strongly affected by war. The sentiment that pervades a nation in stirring times is alone capable of producing that self-abnegation, that willing effacement of the stubborn ego in the flood of fellow humanity, which the head of Christianity demands for the ideal state of mankind and declares to be the corner stone of human salvation. That this pure and lofty condition of soul should be approached through the sanguinary paths of battle and campaign is indeed an anomaly, but that it is a fact all history gives evidence. Not only do nations that practise too long the arts of peace in forgetfulness of war become enfeebled and the natural prey of neighbors grown strong through combat, but they grow corrupt internally as well. Although peaceful trade may thrive, the arts and industries flourish, and every precaution against corruption, national and municipal, be observed, decay begins, the fervor of religion cools, skepticism advances, immoralities appear unreproved, and race decadence hastens its steps, even though it may be that no strong neighbor is at hand to quicken the downfall. We may recognize that war is cruel and brutal, disposing men to a state of savagery, but let us confess that the corrupt ease, the luxurious immorality of life, toward which a total absence of war always leads nations, has in it something more degrading for the human race than simple savagery.

"I mean also," says Ruskin, "that war is the foundation of all the high virtues and faculties of men. It is very strange to me to discover this; and very dreadful—but I saw it to be quite an undeniable fact. The common notion that peace and the virtues of civil life flourished together, I found to be wholly un-

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tenable. Peace and the vices of civil life only flourish together. We talk of peace and learning and of peace and plenty and of peace and civilization; but I found that those were not the words which the Muse of history coupled together; that on her lips the words were—peace and sensuality, peace and selfishness, peace and corruption, peace and death. I found in brief that all great nations learned their truth of word and strength of thought in war; that they were nourished in war and wasted by peace; taught by war and deceived by peace, trained by war and betrayed by peace, in a word that they were born in war and expired in peace."

Allowing something for a possible exuberance of expression on the part of Mr. Ruskin we must still admit that the universal drift of history confirms his general statement, and breaks rudely in upon the vague though kindly visions of eternal peace among the peoples of the earth.

Granting, then, for the sake of argument, that war has its office in the world, let us consider what effect the prejudice against its study has upon preparation for its coming. It is apparent that for those who hold war to be wicked there must be something alarming in its serious study. The modern world has seen more than one great evil continue unchecked because systematic relief, if permitted, would tacitly acknowledge that the evil existed. Such arguments are often heard with regard to the study of war. An officer, distinguished for war service, replying to a request for an opinion as to certain military and naval problems of the day, after expressing himself clearly regarding the strategy and tactics of the questions involved, adds in closing: "How strange it is, how unnatural, that we in this age of enlightenment should be deliberately planning the most effective methods of sinking fleets of ships and destroying thousands of human lives." It is not surprising, when soldiers and sailors hardened in battle feel such doubts as these oppressing them, that other men of some reasoning power—philosophers of a certain ability—honestly expect to eliminate war from the world, and oppose its study or any other systematic preparation for it.

This anti-war spirit has been very noticeable during the nineteenth century. The close of the Napoleonic era found Europe exhausted and its nations sated with wars and campaigns. The appetite for war had been satisfied to repletion. Precautions

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were therefore taken through laws and treaties to prevent outbreaks, and sovereigns and their statesmen devoted themselves for half a century to peace and the arts of peace, while the soldiers of the Continent and the sailors of England began a rest which was to last through generations. It was then that Christendom entered upon that singular phase of civilization which history will perhaps call the mechanical age of the world. Steam came, and later electricity; and when these great factors of increased production were fully at work, and nations felt the need of markets for their wares, a consequent zest for exploration and colonization was born, and the promise of future great nationalities began to appear in Australia, the Cape of Good Hope, and other distant regions of the earth. Wealth flowed freely into men's hands, wages grew better, the poor were less oppressed, and the sweat of their brows became an honorable sign. Thus were people's minds taken away from dwelling upon war, and to such a degree that, after one or two generations of quiet, men were to be found in this latter half of the nineteenth century who could soberly suggest the possibilities of the nations of the earth ceasing to war with each other.

The effect of the long peace had been noticeable among the armies and navies of the world as well. These gradually turned their attention from matters of war to those of peace, navies leaned more and more toward their peace functions as police of the sea, surveyors of the coasts, explorers of unknown lands and pioneers of commerce; armies grew into guardians of internal order in their countries and slowly drifted toward the *minutiæ* of barrack yard drill and away from the large questions of strategy and tactics which had absorbed the generation of soldiers that preceded them. Thus from 1820 to 1870 the military element dozed peacefully through the idle years. It was pleasant, this dreaming of a military glory to come without effort, to fall some day like an over-ripe peach into hands too indolent to shake the tree. How foolish these illusions were, no one guessed until in 1870 fifty years of military dreams were set against fifty years of military study and preparation. Then some among the nations awakened and there was something comic in the hurrying to and fro and ignorant groping to find this art of war that had been left forgotten in some dusty attic corner of the military brain, something comic too in the dismay experienced upon discovering that

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years of use would be necessary before the machine would work effectively.

Although some soldiers' minds were awakened by the Franco-Prussian campaigns to the value of a study of military history, the art of naval warfare was still permitted to remain forgotten, and it is only lately that the need for its study has been recognized by a few officers in our modern navies. Forgetfulness reached such a stage that some officers not only questioned the advisability of studying the art of war, but denied that it had ever existed, of a sort that could be learned and effectively used by means of study. Officers of high standing in our own navy, and in others, said: "We can sail our ships, fire our guns accurately, we can keep correct positions in line of battle. There is nothing else of consequence. Of course there have been Nelsons and Farraguts afloat, and Napoleons and Grants on shore, but they were gifted men, with military genius which caused them to discern without study the right thing to do and the fitting moment for it." It is evident that this opposition is based upon an ignorance of the Napoleons and Nelsons, whose genius it acknowledges. "Wage an offensive war," said Napoleon, "as did Alexander, Hannibal, Cæsar, Gustavus Adolphus, Turenne, Prince Eugene and Frederick. Read and read again the history of their eighty-eight campaigns. Model yourself upon them; in this way only can you become a great leader and penetrate the secret of the art. Your reason thus enlightened will cause you to throw aside maxims opposed to these great men." Again he says: "Tactics, manœuvres, the science of the engineer officer and of the artillery officer; these can be learned in text books; but the knowledge of grand tactics is acquired only through experience and by the historical study of the campaigns of great captains."

Plutarch tells of Alexander the Great that "he loved polite learning, and his natural thirst of knowledge made him a man of extensive reading. The Iliad, he thought, as well as called, a portable treasure of military knowledge, and he had a copy corrected by Aristotle, which is called the casket copy. Onesicritus informs us that he used to lay it under his pillow with his sword."

In other words, when we examine the lives of great generals and admirals, we find that the art of war can be learned in times

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of peace only by the study of naval and military history, and was so learned by them.

Notwithstanding much opposition among the ultra-conservative element in modern navies, the influence of the Franco-Prussian war began to exert an effect upon the United States navy within fifteen years of its conclusion. This became visible between 1880 and 1885 in the founding of the Naval War College on the shores of Narragansett Bay by Rear Admiral Luce; and later in calling to his aid the strategic and literary ability of Captain Mahan. Their efforts and those of others who followed them have succeeded in securing to the College a struggling existence during the last ten years. At present a more secure tenure of life seems to be promised by the earnest interest of the Secretary of the Navy and of a growing number of naval officers in the development of the art of naval warfare.

The methods followed at the Naval War College to ensure this development may be of present interest to the readers of the REVIEW, for the fashion of the moment is to enquire more closely than formerly into questions of national defence. These have been confined for some time to the material, to our ships and weapons; and it has been taken for granted that ships would be combined into fleets, and fleets disposed to the best advantage without any special effort on the part of anyone—indeed that they would dispose and combine themselves, so simple a matter did it seem compared with the task of providing great iron-clads and their guns.

The system pursued at the Naval War College is founded upon Napoleon's maxim to read and reread the records of war, and in order to encourage the study of history and freshen interest in it, recourse is had to various means, borrowed in some cases from the work of the German General Staff, and in others invented by our own officers, where studies of land warfare require modifications to suit them to naval campaigns. The college has been its own guide in cases where the German army methods were not applicable; for the navies of foreign nations have not advanced in the art of naval warfare sufficiently far to be a sure guide for our officers.

These aids to study are of two kinds; first, the literary and historical; and second, war exercises and examples. The former consist of lectures by eminent authorities, led by Captain Mahan,

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upon the different branches of the art of war, essays and discussions upon past naval operations, and the application of their governing principles to the situations offered by modern navies, their armaments and the probable fields of future conflict.

The exercises—so-called—are the solution of war problems, the planning of naval defence for sections of our coasts based upon the laws of strategy and tactics, and various war games and illustrations, calculated to bring into play the military qualities of the mind, and at the same time to provide data for the determination of disputed points in tactics and naval policy. A principal problem in the defence of the coast is presented each year, and is constantly before the officers of the permanent staff of the War College throughout the year, and before the officers temporarily in attendance during the summer session. The locality selected as a theatre of operations in the problem of 1894 was our Atlantic shore from Delaware Bay to Nantucket, with the enemy's central objective assumed to be the blockade and final occupation of the port of New York. The section chosen for the problem of 1895, was the coast from Narragansett Bay to the Bay of Fundy, with the control of Boston, Portland and the adjacent shores as the enemy's objective for the purpose of assisting certain movements of his land forces.

A condition of these problems, resulting from the policy of our country in maintaining small standing forces, is our marked inferiority in naval strength, the odds being placed at three to one against us, so far as ships and guns and trained men are concerned. The complete solution of these annual problems involves a thorough examination of the strategic situation, and intense concentration upon the tactical features of the positions which strategy marks as dominant in the campaign. Long and sober deliberation seconded by systematic discussion, is required before any one can say where our main fleet should select its central rendezvous and base; slowly but surely the naval mind, groping for something tangible to base itself upon in these thoroughly professional questions, settles upon the experience of past wars as the only foundation of knowledge, and realizes that in the study of naval history lies the key of the problem.

The post of the main fleet being settled upon, its needs of coal and ammunition must be provided for, and its security in the waters chosen for its base or its refuge must be guaranteed,

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so far as possible. This latter demands a close study of the tactical defence of the localities selected; the planning of sub-marine mine fields; the most suitable anchorages for the fleet; shelter for torpedo boats, rams, colliers and supply ships; all resulting in the construction of war charts and defence plans upon which the details of war preparations are clearly marked and explained. It will be readily understood, even by those who have not made the profession of arms their calling, how effective this mental exercise is in fixing the attention upon the pages of naval history; upon the English blockades of Brest, Cadiz and Toulon; upon the boom defences of French harbors; upon naval sieges, ancient and modern, and upon the tactics of naval battles fought in narrow waters.

Space will not permit a description of the naval tactical problems introduced in the War College to induce quick grasp of war situations, and to remove the tendency to over-deliberation produced by the principal problem of the year; nor of the war games which, while training the eye and mind in the battle movements of single ships and fleets and in naval campaigns, accumulate in addition much valuable data as to the comparative value of column and line formation, of speed, armament, and coal endurance, and enable us to establish principles for the offensive and defensive movements of fleets.

Modern navies have, as we said before, found their principal office for generations past in promoting the interests of peace and preserving order on the seas. But this cannot always be, and our country, which bids fair to occupy a high place among nations, should no longer be unprepared for those wars which must come. We see the centres of trade activity, of agriculture and the industries, moving steadily westward, and we are not wise if we do not recognize that the centres of military power on land and sea must in the nature of things follow the universal movement, and that in the near future the Caribbean Sea and the Gulf of Mexico will have a naval importance such as the Mediterranean has possessed for thousands of years.

Let us then prepare, not in haste or confusion, nor with boastfulness, but calmly and with deliberate energy, so that whether victorious, or beaten and borne down by numbers, we shall have no bitter regrets for wasted years and lost opportunities.

H. C. TAYLOR.

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FOLLIES AND HORRORS OF WAR.

BY THE RIGHT REV. WILLIAM CROSWELL DOANE, BISHOP OF ALBANY.

"First the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear." It is neither parody nor paraphrase, but I think a fair application of this natural law, as it is revealed to us in both the books of God—Nature and the Holy Scriptures—to say, first the toy-drum, then the school drill, and then the militia company. What does this mean as to the tendency of the human animal, and as to the right method of his training? Making all allowance for the attraction of "pomp and pageantry," for the boy's love of noise, for the joy of the martial strut, for the glory of the gorgeous uniform, is there not in it evidence of the inherent instinct of fighting? And if there is, ought it to be developed, or ought it to be discouraged? Nobody can know much of most of uor big schools, nobody can witness the scene or read the story of a football game, and not see how quickly, in most young natures, the wrestling match or the rivalry of sides begets the heat of anger and the act of violence; and again one says, ought these athletic games to be encouraged or forbidden? And the question is not easy to answer. As developing strength and independence and courage they have great value. I think the true solution is that they ought to be encouraged and directed toward the splendid virtue of self-control; until a boy would rather be flung in the wrestling, or lose the game of ball, than conquer in either one by an act of violence, for which he got the sudden strength by the rush of an animal passion flushing him into fury.

The drift of this inquiry is toward the discovery of some reason for the widespread instantaneousness, with which the American

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people hailed the possibility, this winter, of a war with England. Does it mean that there is a pan-American hatred of England ? I do not believe it. The spirit of 1896 is not the spirit of 1776. Some Irish people who have brought over here their old grudges, and a few natives, who have been called "pinch-beck patriots," mistake pat-riotism for patriotism, and when they use the fine phrase, "I am an American," mean "I am an anti-Anglican." But the number is comparatively small. And when I look on the other side of the water, where surprise and astonishment more slowly accept the thought, it is only to see that the mob in the concert halls are quite ready to cheer for a fight in the Transvaal. It seems, therefore, as if the brute lay very near the skin of our humanity ; so near as to need not even "scratching," but only tickling, to discover it. It looks as if the love of battle were instinctive in man. I confess it appears to me to mean that after all these centuries, in the very finest product of Christian civilization, the influence of religion is only skin deep. Looking at the excitement in America, whether you begin with the needless violence of the President's message, forcing, what on the face of it was a friendly offer, with a threat ; or look at the next stage, the delirious discussion and the decision of the two Houses instantly, and with only a voice or two of warning, to accept and provide for the possibility of war ; or at the mad panic which made men really "bulls and bears" in Wall Street ; or at the way in which, with one or two most honorable exceptions, the press of the country and the unthinking mass of the population greeted the idea,—take it wherever it manifested itself, it seems to mean that fighting is congenial to humanity. Certainly if a popular excitement can be kindled to white heat in an instant, by a few unwise words at the end of a wise suggestion, in favor of such a moral impossibility, such an immoral possibility, as a war between America and England ; certainly if war can be either suggested or accepted as a remedy to be resorted to by the United States of America, in order to prevent the damage done to our American institutions by Great Britain's claim to a few square miles more or less of South American land, which are also claimed by that travesty of a republic, with a caricature of government, Venezuela ; certainly if the third party, offering unasked advice, in a dispute between two other parties, is justified in saying, and saying to the satisfaction of the people, that unless somebody arbitrates

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in this remote dispute, the third party will take up arms and force the issue—I see no other explanation but that average human nature is all the time spoiling for a fight. I am unwilling to acknowledge that the only influence which can arrest or control this political hysteria should be the influence of money. The concession of gold fields to American citizens in Venezuela, and the sobering effect of the scare in Wall Street, look now as if gold were the cause, and were likely to be the cure, of this commotion. "*Sacra auri fames,*" the poet said! And this materialistic age of ours acts, as if that meant "the holy" and not "the accursed" hunger for gold. Let us get the whole matter on a higher ground.

I am not discussing the abstract question of the ethical right or wrong of war. I believe that the ethics of nations are founded on the same principles as the ethics of individuals. A multiplication of men does not produce any other moral code than that which each man receives. Even magisterially this is true. The nation represented by its sovereign authority, or the individual whom the law makes judge or sheriff, may take life without committing murder; but multiplying right or wrong by millions merely makes the right or the wrong million-fold, and does not make wrong right. And I believe that the man or the nation which provokes strife, or strikes the first blow, commits sin. In the universal fallibility of human judgment—made inevitably more fallible by national prejudice—it cannot be assumed that the position of one nation is *entirely* right and of the other *entirely* wrong; or that the wrong of the one makes the other right. And it must follow that the wise course is to let some other fallibility, which is unprejudiced, pick out the right and point out the wrong, which must inevitably be combined like tares with wheat, in each position. But that picking and that pointing must be done by something that is more delicate and human, than the pointing of the sword and the picking of a bayonet. Neither am I contending for the principle that war is always an unpardonable wrong. *If* religion ruled, *if* Christianity had conquered, *if* the Christ were really king, *if* the Gospel had leavened the world, *if* either the summary of the Law, or the Sermon on the Mount were the standards of life, then war would be impossible. Alas, none of these things is true! And the street brawl, and the stealthy dagger, and the quick blow, and the prompt pistol are,

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no more and no less, than standing armies, and "the tented field," and the carnage of battle, evidence that the world has not yet "gone after Christ." But surely the utmost straining of what is called the right of self-defence in a man, the extremest application of the maintenance of what is called national honor, cannot justify, before God or man, in the interests of humanity or religion, any resort to war except in the very last emergency, and for the actual preservation of personal or national life.

Omitting from the consideration the positive necessity of rescuing the Armenians from the uncontrolled and unutterable cruelty of the Turks; omitting the question of a resistance by arms to a tyranny enforced by arms; omitting the question of opposing army to army, when the unity, which is the life of a nation, is threatened; what can be more *irrational* than war, as a means of settling disputes between nations and peoples. A quarrel is very often, at least, about some abstract question, which in no sense affects the prosperity of the mass of the people; and yet hundreds and thousands of men are summoned and sent to lay their lives down; and, when the resources of one or the other side are exhausted, then the question at issue is settled; *not* by reason, *not* by justice, *not* by principle, *not* by argument, *not* by the facts of the case, but by either force of numbers or skill in generalship. And whatever gain accrues comes not to the dead, but to the stronger survivors of the quarrel. We have come to feel this about that relic of barbarism, the duel; and the cold-blooded preparation to kill, wholesale or retail, in order to avenge or to sustain what is called honor, is unreasoning and indefensible, on principle, in a man or in a nation.

What are they? What can paint or what can describe them? The sacrifice of precious lives, the desolation of hearts, the desecration of homes, the ruin of fortunes, the wreck of prosperity, the arrest of the plough in the furrow, that the dead may be buried where the wheat should have been planted, the arts and occupations of peace given up or giving place to the preparation of the sinews of war, commerce destroyed, industries paralyzed, panic where there had been confidence, passion taking the place of reason, and a temper roused, of violence and hatred and revenge, which leaves its trace upon the character of the whole people long after the restoration of peace. I wonder if everybody has forgotten Southey's Blenheim verses with their combi-

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nation of poetry and philosophy, with their fine irony of common sense, and with a little leavening of Christianity. Old Kaspar takes the skull which the boy had found:

> "It's some poor fellow's skull, said he,
> Who fell in that great victory."

And when the children asked about the war:

> "And what they fought each other for?"

he answers:

> "I could not well make out;
> But everybody said, quoth he,
> It was a famous victory."

And then comes the pitiful recital of burnt dwellings, fleeing households, the country "wasted far and wide" with fire and sword, and the shocking sight after the field was won.

> "For many thousand bodies there lay rotting in the sun."

And the only refrain to the children's questions, "What good came of it at last?" and to their suggestion of its wickedness was,

> "Why, that I cannot tell, quoth he,
> But t'was a famous victory."

History will make Kaspar's record of more than one of the famous battles of the world. And if the question ever is to be asked or answered about this suppositious war between England and America, the answer will be as difficult as Kaspar's, and more disgraceful. Just now, like the Ephesians, who cried out "with one voice about the space of two hours, Great is Diana of the Ephesians!" the greater part not knowing wherefore, our people are crying out, "Great is the Monroe Doctrine!" A *doctrine*, not a principle, not a law; an opinion of a man borrowed from England, refused adoption by the Congress to which it was proprosed; relating to the long-forgotten fear of some establishment on this continent of monarchical institutions, which might injure the republican principles of America! Banquo's ghost is a substantial personality beside it.

WM. CROSWELL DOANE.

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HOW A WAR BEGINS.

BY GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP, LL.D.

WHEN our Civil War began I was a boy of ten; but I took an intense interest in it from first to last; drilled and held rank in two or three highly-disciplined and efficient juvenile companies, which often appeared on parade or performed escort duty with the West Point cadets and volunteer troops of the United States, in New York and elsewhere. In the intervals of school duties I undertook to carry on for myself a voluminous manuscript record of current martial events, which was dignified to my mind by the name of a "History"; collected masses of newspaper cuttings; obtained nearly all the useful books relating to the conflict which appeared at that time (including the published official reports of commanders); and gathered all the military maps which could be procured from the government.

The vividness of the impressions made upon me then has never died out. But if any of these are more real and startling in remembrance than others, it is those of the small incidents in daily life, just preceding hostilities; the little things which gradually, yet in the end abruptly, led to a conflagration of public feeling. They were like flying sparks from fireworks with which the whole people were playing; sparks which most of them believed could be quenched with ease, until at last they fell into that storehouse of human explosives, the emotion of a special unforeseen hour; and a rending shock ensued.

It is worth while to recall these things now, when the bounding pulse, the quick flush and premonitory aching of war fever are felt in various members of the civilized world. I recall how, just after the John Brown invasion of Virginia, I visited relatives in Richmond with my parents. We all had the utmost good will towards the Southern folk. My father had lived the first two

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years of his married life in Louisiana, though he came from the North; he understood and in many ways sympathized with the people of the South, but this made little difference. They were already in the first stages of febrile vertigo, and could not see us clearly.

My brother and I, walking one day in a street where some digging was going on, were attacked by a number of lads twice our size, whom we did not know, but who had found out that we were Northerners. They picked up clay from the side of the open trench in the street, kneaded it into hard balls, and began firing at us, with derisive shouts reviling us as Yankees and abolitionists. We promptly returned their fire, in self defence, while retreating in good order in face of superior numbers. To this moment I retain the keenness of the feeling that thrilled me then, of indignant grief that peaceable fellows, who wished the others no ill in the world, should be so wantonly and injuriously assailed. That was the only feeling, then. A few days later, something else occurred.

We used to play with our boy cousins and with a large number of other boys, in their recess and after school, on a big open field. One afternoon a diminutive "fire-eater" came up to me while we were at our sports, and, without provocation, began a tirade against me as a representative of the offensive North. Not satisfied with that, he drew out his jack-knife and stabbed me in the hand. Then I desired nothing but his destruction. My cousins closed round me and led me away to avert deadly combat. As they thus forced me off, my eye detected a jagged half-brick lying on the ground. Instantly stooping I picked it up, whirled around and flung it at the stabber, who still followed taunting. The missile barely grazed his temple; and he ceased to taunt. But how grateful have I been ever since that it did not kill him!

There you have, in miniature, a model of the genesis of war; a boy version of it, but significant. First, good will on one side at least; then a grieved yet forgiving sense of undeserved attack; finally, a swift and unreckoning desire for vengeance.

On the other hand, when we came back to the North, I was equally shocked by the habitual utterances of a mature relative, who, being an ardent abolitionist, had decided that the Constitution of the United States, because it did not preclude slavery,

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was "a league with death, a covenant with hell." While comfortably devouring steak and creamy stewed potatoes at breakfast, or in the intervals of playing the flute sweetly to piano accompaniment in the evening, he would announce in firm tones—whenever the question of national affairs came up—that he was a "disunionist," that he wished to see the Union destroyed, because to continue it on the basis then existing would be immoral. Bred from my earliest recollection to love of country and of the Union, I could not understand this extreme of disloyalty at the North any more than I could that of hatred and threatening disloyalty at the South.

The war was then still more than a year away, and all but an extremely small minority of the American people, North and South, still believed such a conflict impossible. Every one went about his or her usual avocations, while stormy talk invaded more and more the realm of social conversation, ordinarily deemed to be peaceable. As a very youthful onlooker and listener, I remember how, now and then, friends and relatives among my elders would quarrel upon the impending issue, and how a coolness followed, presaging further heat; how the quarrel would be made up, and how it would break out again. I remember in especial one tall, pale-faced gentleman with a full black beard, who used to converse on the subject by the hour with greatest fluency and ease. He spoke always in a subdued voice, as though he were dreaming, or meditating aloud. He gave no emphasis; his words oozed out in a dull monotone, without rising or falling of the voice. Yet in this deadly, colorless manner of speech he uttered the most bloodthirsty sentiments. As though he were saying "Thank you," with cold politeness, he would declare: "Yes, I should like to see the Southerners all driven into the Gulf of Mexico, and I would like to wade from here to the Gulf though their blood."

Then there were the warlike men of the North who did not talk of wading through blood, like this vampire, but still spoke with a sternness and fierceness that steadily heightened the crisis and hastened the catastrophe. And there were the fiery men of the South, whose haughty and bellicose breathings were like embers glowing always nearer to the point of flame. A curious thing was that there were so many of diverse mind altogether here, visiting, dining and hobnobbing; and that in one breath

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they would utter the most appalling challenges, and in the next moment smile and say that, after all, no war between such close kinsfolk was possible, and that everything would be settled calmly before it came to that point. So the confusion and the half hostile, half friendly hurly-burly went on, even after the South Carolina troops were under arms. I remember well the day when the news of the firing on Fort Sumter reached New York. People in this city were still going on in the same state of semi-hilarious, semi-tragic sentiment, and chaffing or scolding one another as though about any customary division of opinion. Many persons on the streets, in hotels, or at home—men, women, children—were wearing what was called "the palmetto cockade," a blue and white rosette, with a bit of straw palm in the centre, as an emblem of sympathy with the South, or with the Union as it was. Others wore the red, white and blue.

When the news of Sumter came suddenly, every palmetto cockade disappeared in a trice, as though under blight. Every one realised that a new, strange and almost weird condition of things had been precipitated, fraught with peril to all. Yet, up to a few hours before, hardly anyone had believed that such a quick, decisive change could occur, or had even faintly perceived, if it should occur, what a grim meaning it would bear.

That is the way war begins. It is hard to describe the swift, almost breathless, abruptness with which this awful alteration took place, which was to continue in force through four terrible and harrowing years. What had previously been offhand opinion, intemperately expressed, became now either an ecstatic assertion of loyalty to the Union, right or wrong, or an utterance of dangerous treason. Words were no longer mere words, but meant bullets on the coming battlefields. National feeling glowed and shone at white heat; yet withal there was a deep and boding solemnity in the faces of men and women, as they went in and out, and thought and spoke of the deadly trials and sorrows now close at hand for individuals and families as well as for the people considered as a whole. Great numbers still thought, even then, that violence might be averted. A peace convention was held, but deliberated in vain amid unmerited ridicule; and in Philadelphia, near "the Cradle of Liberty," a great meeting of the best citizens assembled to advocate peace or compromise, the tone of which would seem incredible now to

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those who imagine that there was but one voice among patriots, and that voice for war. But it was too late to allay the storm.

The sparks of hasty speech, blown to and fro for two or three years without immediate harm, had fallen into the magazine of stored up emotion. Southerners had proclaimed up and down the highways that the North would never dare to fight, and that, if it did, one Southern man would be a match for four Northerners. The men of the North, on the other hand, with rash valor had asserted that, if it came to fighting, they would whip the South in thirty days. Boast and bickering, mock and sneer had been bandied between them many a day, while they had been carrying on business together or feasting at the same board or visiting each others' houses;—and now all these things were to be put to the test. Soon the time came when a man with a drum would start out along Broadway, and other men from the street, the shops, the hotels—with mad enthusiam or grim resolve —would fall in behind him at a moment's thought, and the whole procession would march to a recruiting station and enlist. The army was gathering; friendships, families, old ties were being sundered; and grief and patriotism, glory and death were beginning their mystic dance through the land.

Then the big, splendidly equipped regiments from other places poured through the thoroughfare, southward, like a sunny blue tide; while from crowded sidewalks and packed windows came roaring cheers and a dove-like flutter of white handkerchiefs;—a tide which was to have no perceptible ebb. For thousands of these men were never to be seen again. And when, long after, regiments mustered out of service came northward through the city again, they were mere handfuls, battered, worn, dingy, with bullet-shredded flags. They were like men of bronze, sad and stern, with a far-off gaze of the eyes; and they looked neither to right nor left; and there were no cheers or fluttering handkerchiefs, but only awe in our hearts and tears in our eyes as we beheld them.

The most striking thing about it at the beginning was—and one of the most striking is now—that so much misery might have been avoided had people then known what war is, and had they been more self-contained and magnanimous on both sides, when the trouble was brewing. A great principle was involved, a far-

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reaching problem was to be settled ; but I have never been convinced that it could not have been rightly settled by popular patience, wise statesmanship, a grand exhibition of manly and Christian conduct.

I confess to an innate love of war ; that martial matters fascinate me ; that I favor a spirited foreign policy, and am jealous in defence of the majesty and honor of the nation. It is no timidity that prompts these reminiscences and reflections. Yet I believe that, in this age of the world, and with our experience, we should remember what war really is and how unexpectedly it often comes. The cloud rises and passes. People say "the war scare" is over. Yet they continue to talk war recklessly at intervals. Months go by, and perhaps years. Then suddenly the cloud covers the heavens, and the tempest bursts. Every intemperate word, every rash or unnecessary defiance has gone to swell and surcharge the cloud. It is the people, after all, who make war, in every country—or make it possible. And they make it not so much by a declaration of the Congress or the king as by their careless or unmeasured utterances in times of peace. War is sometimes inevitable, but every citizen has a responsibility, not simply individual, but national, to avoid bringing it on by fiery speech when the issue of force may honorably be prevented by manly self-restraint.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

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DISCONTENTED WOMEN.

BY MRS. AMELIA E. BARR.

DISCONTENT is a vice six thousand years old, and it will be eternal ; because it is in the race. Every human being has a complaining side, but discontent is bound up in the heart of woman ; it is her original sin. For if the first woman had been satisfied with her conditions, if she had not aspired to be "as gods," and hankered after unlawful knowledge, Satan would hardly have thought it worth his while to discuss her rights and wrongs with her. That unhappy controversy has never ceased ; and, with or without reason, woman has been perpetually subject to discontent with her conditions and, according to her nature, has been moved by its influence. Some, it has made peevish, some plaintive, some ambitious, some reckless, while a noble majority have found in its very control that serene composure and cheerfulness which is granted to those who conquer, rather than to those who inherit.

But with all its variations of influence and activity there has never been a time in the world's history, when female discontent has assumed so much, and demanded so much, as at the present day; and both the satisfied and the dissatisfied woman may well pause to consider, whether the fierce fever of unrest which has possessed so large a number of the sex is not rather a delirium than a conviction ; whether indeed they are not just as foolishly impatient to get out of their Eden, as was the woman Eve six thousand years ago.

We may premise, in order to clear the way, that there is a noble discontent which has a great work to do in the world; a discontent which is the antidote to conceit and self-satisfaction, and which urges the worker of every kind continually to realize a higher ideal. Springing from Regret and Desire, between these

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two sighs, all horizons lift; and the very passion of its longing gives to those who feel this divine discontent the power to overleap whatever separates them from their hope and their aspiration.

Having acknowledged so much in favor of discontent, we may now consider some of the most objectionable forms in which it has attacked certain women of our own generation. In the van of these malcontents are the women dissatisfied with their home duties. One of the saddest domestic features of the day is the disrepute into which housekeeping has fallen; for that is a woman's first natural duty and answers to the needs of her best nature. It is by no means necessary that she should be a Cinderella among the ashes, or a Nausicaa washing linen, or a Penelope for ever at her needle, but all women of intelligence now understand that good cooking is a liberal science, and that there is a most intimate connection between food and virtue, and food and health, and food and thought. Indeed, many things are called crimes that are not as bad as the savagery of an Irish cook or the messes of a fourth-rate confectioner.

It must be noted that this revolt of certain women against housekeeping is not a revolt against their husbands; it is simply a revolt against their duties. They consider house-work hard and monotonous and inferior, and confess with a cynical frankness that they prefer to engross paper, or dabble in art, or embroider pillow-shams, or sell goods, or in some way make money to pay servants who will cook their husband's dinner and nurse their babies for them. And they believe that in this way they show themselves to have superior minds, and ask credit for a deed which ought to cover them with shame. For actions speak louder than words, and what does such action say? In the first place, it asserts that any stranger—even a young uneducated peasant girl hired for a few dollars a month—is able to perform the duties of the house-mistress and the mother. In the second place, it substitutes a poor ambition for love, and hand service for heart service. In the third place, it is a visible abasement of the loftiest duties of womanhood to the capacity of the lowest paid service. A wife and mother can not thus absolve her own soul; she simply disgraces and traduces her holiest work.

Suppose even that housekeeping is hard and monotonous, it is not more so than men's work in the city. The first lesson a

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business man has to learn is to do pleasantly what he does not like to do. All regular useful work must be monotonous, but love ought to make it easy; and at any rate, the tedium of housework is not any greater than the tedium of office work. As for housekeeping being degrading, that is the veriest nonsense. Home is a little royalty; and if the housewife and mother be of elements finely mixed, and loftily educated, all the more she will regard the cold mutton question of importance, and consider the quality of the soup, and the quantity of chutnee in the curry, as requiring her best attention. It is only the weakest, silliest women who cannot lift their work to the level of their thoughts, and so ennoble both.

There are other types of the discontented wife, with whom we are all too familiar: for instance, the wife who is stunned and miserable because she discovers that marriage is not a lasting picnic; who cannot realize that the husband must be different from the lover; and spends her days in impotent whining. She is always being neglected, and always taking offence; she has an insatiable craving for attentions, and needs continual assurances of affection, wasting her time and feelings in getting up pathetic scenes of accusation, which finally weary, and then alienate her husband. Her own fault! There is nothing a man hates more, than a woman going sobbing and complaining about the house with red eyes; unless it be a woman with whom he must live in a perpetual fool's paradise of perfection.

There are also discontented wives, who goad their husbands into extravagant expenditure, and urge them to projects from which they would naturally recoil. There are others, whose social ambitions slay their domestic ones, and who strain every nerve, in season and out of season, and lose all their self-respect, for a few crumbs of contemptuous patronage from some person of greater wealth than their own. Some wives fret if they have no children, others just as much if children come. In the first case, they are disappointed; in the second, inconvenienced, and in both, discontented. Some lead themselves and others wretched lives because they have not three times as many servants as are necessary; a still greater number because they cannot compass a life of constant amusement and excitement.

A very disagreeable kind of discontented woman is the wife who instead of having a God to love and worship, makes a god of

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her religion, alienates love for an ecclesiastical idea, or neglects her own flesh and blood, to carry the religious needs of the world; forgetting that the good wife keeps her sentiments very close to her own heart and hearth. But perhaps the majority of discontented wives have no special thing to complain of, they fret because they are "so dull." If they took the trouble to look for the cause of this "dullness," they would find it in the want of some definite plan of life, and some vigorous aim or object. Of course any aim implies limitation, but limitation implies both virtue and pleasure. Without rule and law, not even the games of children could exist, and the stricter the rules of a game are obeyed, the greater the satisfaction. A wife's duty is subject to the same conditions. If aimless plaintive women would make strict laws for their households, and lay out some possible vigorous plan for their own lives, they would find that those who love and work, have no leisure for complaining.

But from whatever cause domestic discontent springs, it makes the home full of idleness, ennui, and vagrant imaginations; or of fierce extravagance, and passionate love of amusement. And as a wife holds the happiness of many in her hands, discontent with her destiny is peculiarly wicked. If it is resented, she gets what she deserves; if it is quietly endured, her shame is the greater. For nothing does so much honor to a wife as her patience; and nothing does her so little honor as the patience of her husband. And however great his patience may be, she will not escape personal injury; since none are to be held innocent, who do harm even to their own soul and body. Besides, it is the inflexible order of things, that voluntary faults are followed by inevitable pain.

Married women, however, are by no means the only complainers. There is a great army of discontents who, having no men to care for them, are clamoring, and with justice, for their share of the world's work and wages. Such women have a perfect right to make a way for themselves, in whatever direction they best can. Brains are of no sex or condition, and at any rate, there is no use arguing either their ability or their right, for necessity has taken the matter beyond the reach of controversy. Thousands of women have now to choose between work, charity, or starvation, for the young man of to-day is not a marrying man. He has but puny passions, and his love is such

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a very languid preference that he cannot think of making any sacrifice for it. So women do not marry, they work; and as the world will take good work from whoever will give it, the world's custom is flowing to them by a natural law.

Now, earnest practical women-workers are blessed, and a blessing; but the discontented among them, by much talking and little doing, continually put back the cause they say they wish to advance. No women are in the main so discontented as women-workers. They go into the arena and, fettered by old ideas belonging to a different condition, they are not willing to be subject to the laws of the arena. They want, at the same time, the courtesy claimed by weakness and the honor due to prowess. They complain of the higher wages given to men, forgetting that the first article of equal payment is equal worth and work. They know nothing about what Carlyle calls "the silences"; and the babble of their small beginnings is, to the busy world, irritating and contemptible. It never seems to occur to discontented working-women that the best way to get what they want is to act, and not to talk. One silent woman who quietly calculates her chances and achieves success does more for her sex than any amount of pamphleteering and lecturing. For nothing is more certain than that good work, either from man or woman, will find a market; and that bad work, will be refused by all but those disposed to give charity and pay for it.

The discontent of working women is understandable, but it is a wide jump from the woman discontented about her work or wages to the woman discontented about her political position. Of all the shrill complainers that vex the ears of mortals there are none so foolish as the women who have discovered that the Founders of our Republic left their work half finished, and that the better half remains for them to do. While more practical and sensible women are trying to put their kitchens, nurseries and drawing-rooms in order, and to clothe themselves rationally, this class of Discontents are dabbling in the gravest national and economic questions. Possessed by a restless discontent with their appointed sphere and its duties, and forcing themselves to the front in order to ventilate their theories and show the quality of their brains, they demand the right of suffrage as the symbol and guarantee of all other rights.

This is their cardinal point, though it naturally follows that

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the right to elect contains the right to be elected. If this result be gained, even women whose minds are not taken up with the things of the state, but who are simply housewives and mothers, may easily predicate a few of such results as are particularly plain to the feminine intellect and observation. The first of these would be an entirely new set of agitators, who would use means quite foreign to male intelligence. For instance, every favorite priest and preacher would gain enormously in influence and power; for the ecclesiastical zeal which now expends itself in fairs and testimonials would then expend itself in the securing of votes in whatever direction they were instructed to secure them. It might even end in the introduction of the clerical element into our great political Council Chambers—the Bishops in the House of Lords would be a sufficient precedent—and a great many women would really believe that the charming rhetoric of the pulpit would infuse a higher tone in legislative assemblies.

Again, most women would be in favor of helping any picturesque nationality, without regard to the Monroe doctrine, or the state of finances, or the needs of the market. Most women would think it a good action to sacrifice their party for a friend. Most women would change their politics, if they saw it to be their interest to do so, without a moment's hesitation. Most women would refuse the primary obligation on which all franchises rest—that is, to defend their country by force of arms, if necessary. And if a majority of women passed a law which the majority of men felt themselves justified in resisting by physical force, what would women do? Such a position in sequence of female suffrage is not beyond probability, and yet if it happened, not only one law, but *all* law would be in danger. No one denies that women have suffered, and do yet suffer, from grave political and social disabilities, but during the last fifty years much has been continually done for their relief, and there is no question but that the future will give all that can be reasonably desired. Time and Justice are friends, though there are many moments that are opposed to Justice. But all such innovations should imitate Time, which does not wrench and tear, but detaches and wears slowly away. Development, growth, completion, is the natural and best advancement. We do not progress by going over precipices, nor re-model and improve our houses by digging under the foundations.

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Finally, women cannot get behind or beyond their nature, and their nature is to substitute sentiment for reason—a sweet and not unlovely characteristic in womanly ways and places; yet reason, on the whole, is considered a desirable necessity in politics. At the Chicago Fair, and at other convocations, it has been proven that the strongest-minded women, though familiar with platforms, and deep in the "dismal science" of political economy, when it came to disputing, were no more philosophical than the simplest housewife. Tears and hysteria came just as naturally to them, as if the whole world wagged by impulse only; yet a public meeting in which feeling and tears superseded reason and argument, would in no event inspire either confidence or respect. Women may cease to be women, but they can never learn to be men, and feminine softness and grace can never do the work of the virile virtues of men. Very fortunately this class of discontented women have not yet been able to endanger existing conditions by combinations analagous to trades-unions; nor is it likely they ever will; because it is doubtful if women, under any circumstances, could combine at all. Certain qualities are necessary for combination, and these qualities are represented in women by their opposites.

Considering discontented women of all kinds individually, it is evident that they must be dull women. They see only the dull side of things, and naturally fall into a monotonous way of expressing themselves. They have also the habit of complaining, a habit which quickens only the lower intellect. Where is there a more discontented creature than a good watch dog? He is forever looking for some infringement of his rights; and an approaching step, or a distant bark, drives him into a fury of protest. Discontented women are always egotists; they view everything in regard to themselves, and have therefore the defective sympathies that belong to low organizations. They never win confidence, for their discontent breeds distrust and doubt, and however clever they may naturally be, an obtrusive self, with its train of likings and dislikings, obscures their judgment, and they take false views of people and things. For this reason, it is almost a hopeless effort to show them how little people generally care about their grievances; for they have thought about themselves so long, and so much that they cannot conceive of any other subject interesting the rest of the world. We may even admit, that

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the women discontented on public subjects are often women of great intelligence, clever women with plenty of brains. Is that the best? Who does not love far more than mere cleverness, that sweetness of temper, that sunny contented disposition, which goes through the world with a smile and a kind word for every one? It is one of the richest gifts of heaven; it is, according to Bishop Wilson, "nine-tenths of Christianity."

Fortunately, the vast majority of women have been loyal to their sex and their vocation. In every community the makers and keepers of homes are the dominant power; and these strictures can apply only to two classes—first, the married women who neglect husband, children and homes, for the foolish *eclát* of the club and the platform, or for any assumed obligation, social, intellectual or political, which conflicts with their domestic duties: secondly, the unmarried women who, having comfortable homes and loving protectors, are discontented with their happy secluded security and rush into weak art or feeble literature, or dubious singing and acting, because their vanity and restless immorality lead them into the market place, or on to the stage. Not one of such women has been driven afield by indisputable genius. Any work they have done would have been better done by some unprotected experienced woman already in the fields they have invaded. And the indifference of this class to the money value of their labor has made it difficult for the women working because they must work or starve, to get a fair price for their work. It is the baldest effrontery for this class of rich discontents to affect sympathy with Woman's Progress. Nothing can excuse their intrusion into the labor market but unquestioned genius and super-excellence of work; and this has not yet been shown in any single case.

The one unanswerable excuse for woman's entrance into active public life of any kind, is *need*, and alas! need is growing daily, as marriage becomes continually rarer, and more women are left adrift in the world without helpers and protectors. But this is a subject too large to enter on here, though in the beginning it sprung from discontented women, preferring the work and duties of men to their own work and duties. Have they found the battle of life any more ennobling in masculine professions, than in their old feminine household ways? Is work done in the world for strangers, any less tiresome and monotonous, than work

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done in the house for father and mother, husband and children? If they answer truly, they will reply "the home duties were the easiest, the safest, and the happiest."

Of course all discontented women will be indignant at any criticism of their conduct. They expect every one to consider their feelings without examining their motives. Paddling in the turbid maelstrom of life, and dabbling in politics and the most unsavory social questions, they still think men, at least, ought to regard them as the Sacred Sex. But women are not sacred by grace of sex, if they voluntarily abdicate its limitations and its modesties, and make a public display of unsexed sensibilities, and unabashed familiarity with subjects they have nothing to do with. If men criticize such women with asperity it is not to be wondered at; they have so long idealized women, that they find it hard to speak moderately. They excuse them too much, or else they are too indignant at their follies, and unjust and angry in their denunciation. Women must be criticized by women; then they will hear the bare uncompromizing truth, and be the better for it.

In conclusion, it must be conceded that some of the modern discontent of women must be laid to unconscious influence. In every age there is a kind of atmosphere which we call "the spirit of the times," and which, while it lasts, deceives as to the importance and truth of its dominant opinions. Many women have doubtless thus caught the fever of discontent by mere contact, but such have only to reflect a little, and discover that, on the whole, they have done quite as well in life as they have any right to expect. Then those who are married will find marriage and the care of it, and the love of it, quite able to satisfy all their desires; and such as really need to work will perceive that the great secret of Content abides in the unconscious acceptance of life and the fulfillment of its duties—a happiness serious and universal, but full of comfort and help. Thus, they will cease to vary from the kindly race of women, and through the doors of Love, Hope and Labor, join that happy multitude who have never discovered that Life is a thing to be discontented with.

AMELIA E. BARR.

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DOES THE IDEAL HUSBAND EXIST?

BY MRS. MARY A. LIVERMORE.

UNTIL within a few years the world has been ruled by brute force. Everybody has been welcome to whatever he could win and hold by brawn and muscle. There has been little whimpering about it, and the weaker have yielded to the dominion of the stronger, as we, to-day, respect the decision of the courts. The history of woman through these ages is painful reading. Her physical weakness, and not alone her mental inferiority, has made her the subject of man. Toiling patiently for him, asking little for herself and everything for him, cheerfully sharing with him all his perils and hardships, the unappreciated mother of his children, she has been bought and sold, petted or tortured, according to the whim of her brutal owner, the victim everywhere of pillage, lust, war and servitude. And this statement includes all races and peoples of the earth from the date of their historic existence.

Among the Hindoos, woman was the abject slave of man. She was bought, sold, lent, gambled away, and taken for debt, with the power of life and death held over her by some irresponsible husband, father or other man. Throughout the entire Orient her condition has been, and is largely to-day, one of such compulsory servitude that the phrase "Oriental degradation" of woman is the synonym of the lowest and most cruel debasement woman has ever known. Under the old Roman law, the husband was the sole tribunal of the wife. He controlled her person, property, earnings and religion. She was allowed no rights in her children, and could invoke no law against her husband's tyranny and barbarities. The Greek law regarded woman as a child, and held her in everlasting tutelage from her cradle to her gray-

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haired old age. Aristotle, and they of his school, called her a "monster," and an "accidental production." The Hebrews pronounced her an "afterthought of the Deity," and "the mother of all evil."

The Councils of the mediæval church forbade the education of women, and declared them "unfit for instruction." And the kind-hearted nuns who defied this decision and established schools for girls, were publicly stoned on the streets. The early Christian fathers denounced women as "noxious animals," "painted temptresses," "necessary evils," "desirable calamities," and "domestic perils." The law proclaimed the wife to be "in all cases, and under all circumstances, her husband's creature, servant and slave," and it maintained this status as rightfully hers from the Heptarchy to the English Reformation. Herbert Spencer in his "Descriptive Sociology of England," says: "Our laws are based on the all-sufficiency of man's rights, so that society exists to-day for woman, only as she is in the keeping of some man."

Here and there along the ages there have been exceptional peoples, whose civilization lifted women for a time to an equality with men, and forbade their subordination. Chief among these were the Egyptians. Nevertheless, it is true that woman's subjection to man in the long past has been almost universal and very extreme until a recent period. The hereditary effects of these ages of servitude are very apparent to-day in both men and women.

It has retarded woman's development in normal ways; has broken down her self-respect and self-appreciation. Living under constant restriction and hindrance, she became cowardly, both physically and morally. Denied the rights and privileges common to humanity, she gained them by cunning and fawning, stratagem and intrigue. Eager for her own sake to win the favor of her husband, father, or any other man who held her fate in his hands, she resorted to inordinate efforts to please and cajole him, so that she is to-day overweighted with love of approbation, which sometimes effaces all moral distinctions. It has rarely been possible for women to rise above the arbitrary standards of womanly inferiority persistently set before them. It is amazing that they held their own during these ages of degradation. And as "the inheritance of traits of character is persistent

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in proportion to the length of time they have been inherited," women are conservative, and progress slowly wih halting step.

The exercise of irresponsible dominion over women has also acted unfavorably upon men, as the use of irresponsible power always does. It has created in their minds immense self-complacency, a contemptuous opinion of women, which runs through the literature and legislation of all nations. It has induced them to formulate different codes of morals for the sexes, more rigorous for women than men, to enact unjust laws for them which disgrace the statute books, to affix severer penalties for crimes committed when women are the criminals, and they have arranged the relations of the government so that while women help to bear its burdens, its benefits are mostly conferred upon men. The husband is given legal control of the wife's person, in most instances he has ownership of her earnings, and except in seven of the States of the Union, he denies her to-day legal ownership in her minor children. The father is their sole legal owner. Rarely do men pay women the same wages, when they do the same work as men, and they allow women to stand on an equality with them only when punishment and the payment of taxes are in question. All these unjust inequalities are survivals of the long ages of servitude through which women have passed, and which have not yet entirely ceased to exist.

"We are wont," says Emerson, "to think that we are at the meridian of civilization. We are only at the cock-crowing and the morning star." Neither men nor women have out-grown the low conditions of society which obtained when the doctrine of male superiority was universally accepted. And we have not yet reached the time when we can boast of the "ideal husband" or the "ideal wife." Now and then one appears, and is immediately recognized as a being of a high and lovely type, more divine than human. In the minds of those who knew the private life of Wendell Phillips, he stands as the ideal husband of his time. The complete unselfishness of his love for his invalid wife—an invalid when she became his wife—made it a joy to him to lift her burdens to his shoulder, and to subordinate his life to hers when occasions required it. Accepting the work to which he seemed pre-ordained, he entered the lists against American slavery, and put into the unequal combat all the forces of his being. Intellect, culture, eloquence, personal magnetism, re-

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morseless moral logic, influence, money—all that he had and was were given to the service of the abolition movement. But he always wrought with his heart leaning towards his wife, and her slightest need of him was answered by his presence at her bedside.

"Do not return to Boston to-night!" entreated his friends in a neighboring town, where he had lectured: "the last train has left, and you will be obliged to take a carriage into the city. It is a sleety November night, cold and raw, and you will have twelve miles of rough riding before you get home!"

"But at the end of them I shall find Anne Phillips!" was the lover-like reply, with a sudden illumination of the face.

They told him he was dying, and that the end was very near. "I am ready to go," was his reply, "and have no preparation to make. But I had hoped to stay with my wife to the end. Who will care for her as I have done?"

"They bore me on a cot into the room where Wendell was dying," said Mrs. Phillips, "for a last interview. I remember little about it for I was in terrible anguish. But I held myself in strong control, and did not groan, nor moan even, for that would have made it so much harder for poor Wendell to die."

There have been, and are to-day, husbands of a like rare type, who regard the wife as the "beloved other half," not in the meaningless sense in which the careless gallantry of the day phrases it, but with the unselfish devotion of a life. They are comparatively few, however, while husbands of another sort are very much in evidence.

My attention was called to three works of art, in a gallery, remarkable alike for their admirable technique, and their unmitigated repulsiveness. One represented in marble, the figure of the drunken god Silenus, astride an ass. The only sober object in the sculpture was the ass, bestrode by the marble god, whose every fibre, muscle and feature drooped in senseless inebriety. Across the gallery was an ivory satyr, with pointed face, short horns, leering eyes, and lolling tongue, the whole expression being one of beastly sensuality. Locked in a glass case to protect it from the curious, was the head of a Bacchante, cut in the pellucid crystal of a gem bluer than God's heaven, the hair dishevelled, the features distorted, the mouth open, the whole face indicating drunken frenzy.

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Given time enough, and these works of art will cease to be. The marble god and the ivory satyr will disintegrate into sand and dust. But the drunken husband and father is also an artist. And he sends out into the world a hideous caricature of the living God in the person of his own child, whose life stretches away farther than our imaginations can follow. It is the most serious and widespread evil of our time, the drunkenness of husbands, alike in high life and low life, and it portends the direst consequences to posterity. The woman who dares marry a libertine, or a drunkard, with the hope of reforming him, or the expectation of finding happiness with him, ought to have a chance in a lunatic asylum or a home for imbeciles.

Before all forms of government, all types of civilization, all advance in education, the relations of the husband and wife make the everlasting granite on which the whole world rests. Just so fast and just so far as these relations are what they ought to be, and what God intends they shall be, just so fast and just so far will society be uplifted—no faster, no farther. "How shall we purify public life?" is the great question of the hour. We can purify public life no faster than we purify the private life in the home, for the public life is only the public expression of the private life of a people. The advance of a nation comes only through the improvement of the homes of a nation. As the aggregate of these may be, so will the nation be. For it is in the home, conducted by the harmonious and right-minded husband and wife that the real harmonizing and civilizing are carried forward.

MARY A. LIVERMORE.

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THE NEWEST TELESCOPE.

BY PROF. C. A. YOUNG.

MANY of our readers doubtless remember the great telescope which loomed up so imposingly at the north end of the central aisle in the main building of the Chicago exhibition, giving a most impressive idea of the magnitude and power of the astronomical artillery with which our modern science assails the heavens and aims to penetrate their mysteries.

One felt justly some stirrings of patriotic pride in the noble instrument as a magnificent triumph of American art, and a fresh example of the enlightened liberality of our men of wealth and affairs. In the foundation and equipment of the great observatory which is to bear his name, Mr. Yerkes has established for himself a place upon the roll of honor along with Lick, Carnegie and others, who by their munificent gifts to learning, science and art have secured a perpetual and grateful remembrance.

The instrument itself, except in one item, is purely American. The mounting and machinery are by Warner & Swasey, of Cleveland, the same firm that made the mounting of the great telescopes in the observatories at Washington and Mt. Hamilton, as well as many smaller ones, and it is not too much to say that in design and workmanship their instruments do not suffer in comparison with the best of foreign make, while in "handiness" they are distinctly superior. There is no longer any necessity for us to go abroad for astronomical instruments which are fully up to the highest standards.

The forty-inch object glass of the Yerkes telescope is by Alvan G. Clark, the sole survivor of the famous firm of Alvan Clark & Sons, which, during the last twenty-five years, has sent out as many great telescope lenses as all other firms to-

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gether, among them the thirty-inch objective of the great instrument at Pulkowa, and the still larger thirty-six inch lens of the Lick Observatory, which, since 1887, has maintained an unapproachable supremacy until displaced by this younger brother.*

The one non-American feature in the Yerkes telescope is an important one; the glass from which the lenses were made is foreign, by Mantois, of Paris, the only firm in the world which at present can furnish discs of the size and quality required. A few attempts have been made in this country to introduce the manufacture of optical glass, but thus far with very little success, and our opticians are still compelled to send abroad for their material. It is to be hoped that before very long this disability will disappear, but the difficulties of the manufacture are great, and the demand so limited that the prospect of profit is not encouraging.

To the casual observer at Chicago the instrument seemed practically complete, though really hardly half finished. At that time the object-glass, to which everything else is subordinate, was little more than roughed out, and many of the more delicate portions of the mounting were in the same condition or wholly wanting. It has taken two years of unremitting labor to perfect what was incomplete and to add the indispensable accessories with which the eye and the hand of the observer are most directly to operate, such as the eyepieces, micrometers, spectroscopes, and other minor but essential parts.

Now at last the instrument is finished, and only awaits the completion of the observatory which is to shelter it. The object glass, forty inches in diameter and by far the largest ever made, was finally examined and accepted last October, and pronounced by the committee of experts "entirely satisfactory," fulfilling all the conditions of the contract, and responding to

* It is difficult to realize the progress of the last sixty years in the matter of telescope-making. In 1836 the two most powerful refracting telescopes in the world were the 9½ inch instrument at Dorpat, and the 11-inch at Munich. In the United States the largest instrument was the 5-inch Dollond telescope of Yale College, which in 1840 was supplanted by the 6-inch Munich telescope at the Philadelphia High School. Before 1850 several other German instruments were imported, the most notable being the 11-inch telescope at Cincinnati, the 9½-inch at Washington, and the 15-inch at Cambridge, which, with its twin at Pulkowa (dating from 1839), for many years shared the *honor of being the largest in existence*. It was in 1846 that Alvan Clark, Sr., made his first telescope, and since 1850 very few telescopes of any importance have been imported, while a number of Clark's lenses have gone abroad. Fitz and Spencer also made a number of large telescopes between 1850 and 1870, and at present Brashear, of Pittsburg, is vigorously competing with the Clarks themselves in the size and excellence of his object-glasses.

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every test at least as well as the best of all the other large lenses which have thus far issued from the hands of its makers, fully their equal in the excellence of its figure and corrections, and of course markedly superior to them all in its light-collecting power. It gathers three times as much light as the 23-inch instrument at Princeton; two and three-eighths as much as the 26-inch telescopes at Washington and Charlottesville; one and four-fifths as much as the 30-inch at Pulkowa; and 23 per cent. more than the gigantic, and hitherto unrivalled, 36-inch telescope of the Lick observatory. Possibly in this one quality of "light," the six-foot reflector of Lord Rosse, and the later five-foot reflector of Mr. Common, might compete with or even surpass it, but as an instrument for seeing things it is doubtful whether either of them could hold its own with even the smallest of the instruments named above, because of the reflector's inherent inferiority in distinctness of definition. This is due to the disastrous effects upon its performance which are produced by the slightest differences of temperature in different parts of its massive mirror, and by the infinitesimal flexures consequent on the changes of position required in following a star for any length of time. From these difficulties a lens is practically free.

Still it must not be supposed that the new object-glass is ideally perfect. The best possible two-lens objective, made from such materials as are at present obtainable in discs of any considerable size, sins grievously in not bringing the light rays of different color to any single focus—its "achromatism" is far from absolute. In the case of this 40-inch lens the greenish yellow rays come together at a point nearly six inches nearer to the lens than do the violet; so that the image of a bright star is surrounded by a strong purple halo, which is usually pronounced "perfectly lovely" by a female tyro, but is an abomination to the astronomer. It is particularly annoying in spectroscopic or photographic work, and where such work is specially in hand the fact that the reflector is entirely free from it, treating rays of every color impartially in the matter of focus, goes far to condone its peculiar weaknesses.

This imperfection of the ordinary object-glass is in no respect the fault of the optician, but lies in the material itself. Experiments, subsidized by the German government, have been going on at Jena during the last dozen years for the purpose of remedying the

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evil, with special reference, however, to the improvement of the microscope. In that, complete success has been reached, and there is much reason to hope that before very long it may become possible to obtain varieties of glass which in combination will give satisfactory achromatism, and in discs of sufficient size to permit the construction of large telescopic object-glasses as perfect in their way as the new "apochromatic" microscope objectives are in theirs. It will be a step almost as important as was Dollond's invention of the present achromatic lens. Thus far, however, no great success has been attained with telescopes of any considerable magnitude, though an English firm is now offering to make three-lens objectives up to twenty inches in diameter, which are advertised as practically perfect in their achromatism. A six-inch lens of this construction has been very favorably reported on by Dr. Roberts, and it is perhaps not impossible that a new era of telescope-making may open with the new century.

To return from this digression: The crown-glass lens of the great object-glass is double convex, about two and a half inches thick in the middle, though only three-quarters of an inch at the edge, and weighs two hundred pounds. The flint-glass lens is nearly plano-concave, with the flat surface inside, *i. e.*, nearest the eye end of the telescope.

It is about two inches thick at the edge and an inch and a quarter in the centre, and weighs over three hundred pounds. The two lenses are separated by a space of eight and three-eighths inches, and are set upon aluminium bearings in a steel cell itself weighing five hundred pounds; so that the whole mass which has to be carried at the upper end of the telescope tube is nearly half a ton.

The focal length of the object-glass, or rather the distance from the inner surface of the flint-lens to the place where the image of a star is formed (which is not quite the same thing) is stated by Mr. Clark * to be sixty-one feet; so that the total length of the instrument will be between sixty-two and sixty-three feet. This will be increased by at least seven or eight feet when the spectroscope is in place. The image of the sun or moon formed in the focal plane will be nearly seven inches in diameter.

The magnifying power of the telescope can be made by mere

* For much of the information embodied in this article I am indebted to the courtesy of Mr. Clark, of Warner and Swasey, and especially of Professor Hale, to all of whom my warmest thanks are due.

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change of eyepieces to range anywhere from about two hundred to four thousand. This highest power will bring the moon, optically, to within just about sixty miles from the observer's eye; but he will see her surface much more clearly than one can see the details of a terrestrial landscape at that distance from the top of a mountain, because in the latter case the surface is viewed very obliquely, and through the densest and haziest portion of our atmosphere.

Any lunar object five or six hundred feet square would be distinctly visible—a building, for instance, as large as the capitol at Washington. A line much narrower than this, especially if it differed much in color or brightness from the background, would at once attract attention, and so would any brilliant object, even if no larger or brighter than an ordinary arc light.

With very high powers the field of view will be very narrow, hardly including the whole of even such a crater as Tycho or Copernicus; nor can such powers be used advantageously except under very unusual atmospheric conditions: powers between five hundred and two thousand will ordinarily be most useful.

When directed to the zenith the great eye of the instrument will be seventy-five feet above the normal level of the floor, which, however, can be raised and lowered at pleasure through a range of twenty-two feet, to bring the eyepiece within convenient reach of the observer. The centre of motion, or the point where the two axes intersect, is forty-three feet above the floor.

The mass of the whole machine, including its cast-iron pedestal, is seventy-five tons, of which the movable portions—the axis, circles, counterpoises, tube, etc.—weigh thirty. The great tube itself alone weighs six tons; it is sixty-one feet long, and fifty-two inches in diameter at the middle, tapering slightly to each end. It is made of sheet steel, the thickness of which was carefully determined in advance by computation, to give the requisite strength with the minimum weight, and varies gradually from about a quarter of an inch at the middle to an eighth of an inch at the extremities. The whole is so beautifully poised on its anti-friction bearings that a pressure of less than twenty pounds moves it freely. The driving clock is so delicate, and at the same time so powerful, that the enormous tube, once pointed at a star, will follow it exactly for hours, keeping it precisely upon the cross wires all the time, undisturbed by any ordinary

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effects of varying friction, or gusts of wind, or inadvertent pushes of the observer.

The skillful makers have embodied in the mechanism many new and ingenious devices which greatly facilitate the observer's control of the gigantic instrument—in fact, a single man, even without an assistant, can point and manage it quite as easily, if not quite as rapidly, as he could one of the old fashioned twelve or fifteen-inch equatorials. Electricity is used to a great extent, not only for the illumination of the circles and micrometers, but for controlling the clock-work and automatically re-winding it when necessary, and for actuating the quick and slow motions by which the telescope is directed upon an object. Hitherto, in the more modern instruments at least, the slow motions have been managed by long, jointed handles, brought down along the tube to the eye end, and transmitting the power of the observer's hand around various corners through a complicated train of wheel work to the screw that was to be turned—a mechanism subject to much "lost motion" and easy derangement. In the new system, little electric motors are attached directly to the different slow motion screws, and the conducting wires are led to various convenient points, so that the observer himself at the eyepiece, or an assistant on the gallery that surrounds the top of the pedestal, or a person standing anywhere on the floor, can control everything by the mere touch of a finger or the sliding of a switch. The old mechanism has not been entirely discarded, however, but has been retained as a measure of precaution in addition to the new, in order that the instrument may never be disabled at some critical moment by the failure of the dynamo or storage battery, or the breaking of a wire.

The great ninety-foot rotating dome which is to shelter the instrument, is relatively as gigantic as the instrument itself, larger by far than anything of the kind ever before constructed. (The domes at Nice and the Lick observatory, which rank next in magnitude, are each about seventy-five feet in diameter.)

It was built by Warner and Swasey—of steel, like the telescope tube itself—and although it weighs nearly a hundred and fifty tons, it will doubtless be turned and handled with perfect ease by the machinery provided for the purpose. It is not yet in place, but is ready to be erected as soon as the masonry tower

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which is to carry it is completed, and that was reported as "nearly finished" early in November. It is likely, however, that the severity of the Wisconsin winter will postpone the actual mounting of the dome and instrument until spring, and the formal opening of the observatory is hardly likely to take place much before the end of the summer.

The observatory, though belonging to the University of Chicago, is not in the city, but is situated on the northern shore of Lake Geneva, about seventy-five miles to the northwest and a few miles beyond the State line. It is a hundred and eighty feet above the water, in the midst of a large tract of land that has been given for the purpose. The building has the form of a Roman cross, the longer arm, about four hundred feet over all, running east and west, with the great dome at its western extremity and the meridian room at the eastern. The cross arm, or transept, carries a smaller tower and dome at each end ; in the northern of the two will be mounted the twelve-inch instrument (fitted for both visual and photographic work), which is now in the Kenwood Observatory of Professor Hale, the Director-elect of the new establishment. In the southern dome a sixteen-inch telescope by Brashear (who also made the Kenwood instrument) will be placed. Of course the reader understands that, as a rule, any work that is well within the reach of a moderate-sized instrument can be done by it much more conveniently and rapidly than by a very large one : a cannon is a poor weapon for snipe shooting, and an observatory equipped with one great telescope only is much like a warship with no rapid-fire guns.

The transept is occupied by a long heliostat gallery for certain solar work, and the main building, between the great tower and the meridian room, is taken up with rooms for the observers, offices, computing rooms, library, lecture room, photographic rooms, physical laboratory, etc.

The meridian room is planned to receive at some time a first-class meridian circle, but for the present will be occupied only by a small transit instrument, since the work of the establishment, for a while at least, will be directed almost entirely along the lines of the "New Astronomy."

A small building at some distance from the observatory contains the boilers, engines, dynamos, and workshops for the construction and repair of instruments.

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The selection of a site appears to be the best possible under the circumstances; far enough from the city to avoid its smoke and dust, and the glare of its electric lights, as well as the interruption of too numerous curious visitors; and yet near enough to permit of quick and easy communication. The atmospheric conditions are undoubtedly better than nearer Lake Michigan, and are probably fully as good as those that prevail at the majority of American observatories. But "the Prince of the Power of the Air" is everywhere the most malignant enemy of the observational astronomer, and it remains to be seen just how serious are the limitations which his malice will impose in this case. We can hardly hope for the exceptional excellence of the "seeing" which prevails at Mt. Hamilton, Nice, and Arequipa, but there is no reason to look for anything exceptionally bad.

And now, of course, comes the question of utility. What is the real use of the whole great expenditure? It may be admitted at once that, so far as now appears, the advancement of astronomy will contribute *directly* very little to the material welfare of mankind. It is an "unselfish science," not a "bread and butter" one, and has no such immediate bearing upon human sustenance and comfort as most of the other physical sciences. Its benefits are for the most part purely intellectual; in the widening of the range of thought; in the stimulus of grappling with problems that tax to the utmost our highest faculties; in the power that knowledge fairly won always brings to its possessor,—by the process of acquisition even more than by its actual possession; for usually it happens that the struggle of attainment counts for more in the development of the individual and of the human race than the victory and the prize it brings.

But granting the value of astronomical research and progress, the further question arises whether in the real interest of the science such expenditure for new observatories and gigantic telescopes is justifiable; and there are some who deny it, even among those whose opinion is entitled to respectful consideration. They are more interested in other, older, and, in their view, more important branches of the science than those to which the new institution is to be devoted, and they feel a very natural jealousy at what seems to them neglect of the fundamental investigations of mathematical astronomy in favor of the

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apparently easier, more showy and more popular work of mere telescopic, spectroscopic and physical observation.

The more reasonable view, however, is unquestionably that both lines of work are valuable, and essential to the growth and perfection of the science; neither should be neglected. It may be true that there can never be any astronomical work of a higher order than that of Newton, Laplace, Gauss, Bessel and Leverrier, not to mention the great names of others who still live, and keep up gloriously the old traditions. But a new era has opened, and now with our present instruments and methods we are able to attack problems and undertake researches which were utterly impossible twenty-five years ago. As Miss Clerke tersely expreses it: "Modern sidereal astronomy *lives on light*. Large telescopic apertures are a *sine quâ non* for its growth and activity." Whether we work with eye or photographic plate, with spectroscope or bolometer, the cry is still "more light," whenever we attempt to carry our studies beyond the scanty material furnished by the first hundred or so of the brightest stars and nebulæ.

There is reason therefore to hope, and to expect, that the new observatory will soon justify its foundation by the rapid accumulation of valuable data which are beyond the reach of smaller instruments, and by the deduction of important and significant results: perhaps also, but by no means certainly, by some brilliant and sensational discovery.

Its work, according to the provisional programme already laid out by the Director, will be various. During the day the great telescope will be mainly used in the study of the sun, chiefly spectroscopic, the observations being made both visually and photographically; to some extent also by the bolometer, with which it is hoped to reach the solar corona somewhat as the prominences are reached by the ordinary spectroscopic method. In work of this sort, the great size of the image of the sun formed by the forty-inch object-glass gives an immense advantage, and it is worth noting that in the *daytime* the atmospheric conditions at the Yerkes observatory will probably be much better than they are at Mt. Hamilton, though at night the case is different.

Two nights in the week are reserved for spectroscopic studies of stars and nebulæ, in which a wide field is opening, especially as regards the spectroscopy of variable stars and the motions of

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the sidereal system. Other nights will be devoted to visual observations of planets, comets, etc., and others to the measurement of the more difficult double stars, work for which Messrs. Burnham and Barnard, formerly on the staff of the Lick observatory, have already been secured.

It seems almost a pity that no provision has been made to utilize the power of the great instrument in stellar photography; but this would require a heavy expense for an additional "photographic corrector" to be put on outside of the object-glass, and its use would occupy the instrument at times when it could ill be spared from other work. The subject is being well followed up, too, at several other observatories. At some future time it is quite possible that the deficiency may be supplied. It is mainly a question of money.

The smaller instruments will find an abundance of work that is fairly within their reach, and of course the computing rooms and the physical laboratory will be kept more than busy in the reduction of the material accumulated by the observations, and the researches required for their interpretation.

C. A. YOUNG.

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THE MYSTERIOUS WRECK OF NEMI.

BY PROFESSOR RODOLFO LANCIANI, LL. D., PH. D., F. A. S., ETC.

THE lake of Nemi lies at the bottom of one of the craters of the Alban range, which measures six miles in circumference at the top of the cliffs and four at the water's edge. Its altitude above the sea is 191 metres, the depth in the center 168 metres. When the worship of Diana was first established on its shores, and all through the classic period of Roman history, the aspect of the place was very different from what it looks now. No villages teeming with life, no fields yielding the choicest produce of the earth, no villas, no farms, nothing but primeval forests casting their shadows over the silent waters.

The lake was formed many centuries before the extinction of the volcano of the Alban range (Monte Pila). We may easily imagine what an awe-inspiring place it must have appeared when the mountains around were shaken from their foundations by outbursts of incandescent lava, the skies heavy with ashes and smoke, and the thundering of the "*boati*" reverberating from cliff to cliff, from mountain to mountain, as far as Rome. *Vox ingens*, Livy calls it, *vox ingens e luco et summo montis cacumine!* No wonder that such a frightful recess should have been selected for the seat of a mysterious worship, that of the Scythian Diana, the origins of which are variously explained by Strabo (v., 3, 12), by Servius *Aenead.* (VI.), and by Pausanias (II., 27). The worship seems to have been imported from the *Chersonesus Taurica* (Crimea), the abode of rude, savage tribes, addicted to piracy as well as to the veneration of Artemis, or, according to their own statement, of Iphigenia*. The principal rule of the sanctuary by the Lake of Nemi was, in fact, truly barbaric and worthy of the Scythians; no one could be elected high priest, unless he had

*Euripides. *Iphig. in Taur*, 85. Callimakos, *Hymn in Dian.*, 176.

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slain with his own hands the one who, by a similar deed, had obtained the dignity before him. It is evident, therefore, that the thoughts of the unfortunate priest must have been directed more to the preservation of his life than to the service of the goddess. This extraordinary rite was still flourishing at the time of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus, but the duels were generally confined to runaway slaves, one of whom would escape, for the time being, the fate to which at all events he was doomed.

In the palace of the Conde de Montenegro at Palma, Majorca, there is a bas-relief three and a half feet long, two feet high, of archaic workmanship, discovered in 1791 by Cardinal Desping near the mouth of the *emissarium* of the Lake of Nemi, at the Mole di Vallericcia ; and reproduced by Sir William Gelt in his *Topography of Rome* (page 327). It represents the issue of one of these duels: the high priest, wounded to death by his rival, lies on the ground holding with the right hand the intestines which drop out of the cruel gash. The successful antagonist, brandishing the bloody poniard, is surrounded by four female attendants of the Artemisium, in the most excited attitudes. The prohibitory laws of Valentinian II. and Theodosius must have put an end to the practice in 393.

The temple of the Scythian Diana, to which human sacrifices were originally offered, rose in the midst of the great forest on the north side of the lake, at the foot of the craggy boulder on which the village of Nemi is now perched. Judging from her figure, as given upon an ancient vase, the statue of the goddess seems to have been an almost shapeless stone, with a rude head, and the arm held up with a sword. Before the temple, expanded the lonely lake fed by the same springs which are now forced up to fill the reservoirs of Albano. The temple stands not very much higher than the lake, and could have been easily flooded, or permanently submerged, but for the help of a wonderful *emissarium* by which the waters were maintained at a fixed level. The *emissarium*, therefore, must be a work of prehistoric, or at least of traditional, times, and this explains why no mention of it is to be found in ancient authors. The tunnel is 1,649 yards long, irregular in shape and direction. It is not impossible that the temple should have been built on the newly claimed land in commemoration of the conquest and of the almost prodigious drainage of the lake.

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Though nothing in the present day can exceed the beauty and loveliness of this "*speculum Dianæ*," where fragrant strawberry fields have succeeded the ancient forest, and life and thrift the wilderness of old days, its chief celebrity has arisen from the discovery at the bottom of the lake of what was proclaimed to be a ship five hundred feet in length, and as rich and beautiful as an enchanted palace.

Besides insignificant attempts made frequently by local boatmen and fishermen, a regular search for the mysterious wreck has been undertaken four times, the first by Leone Battista Alberti, at the time of Eugenius IV. (1431-1439); the second by Francesco de Marchi in 1535; the third by Annesio Fusconi in 1827; the last by Eliséo Borghi in 1895, which has not yet been brought to a close.

Flavio Biondo da Forti, in his *Italia Illustrata* (f. 71), relates that Cardinal Prospero Colonna, who counted among the fiefs of the family both Nemi and Genzano, had often heard from his tenants and fishermen the story of two immense ships sunk deep in the water, so strong and well preserved as to resist all attempt made to float them or to demolish them piece by piece. Prospero being a learned prelate for his days and very studious of history and ancient remains, determined to find out why two such large crafts should have been launched on a narrow sheet of water, enclosed by mountains on every side, and to what causes their wreck should be attributed. He sought the help of the "Vitruvio Fiorentino," the engineer and mechanician, Leone Battista Alberti, who built a raft of beams and empty barrels to support the machinery by means of which the explorations could be made. Skillful smiths prepared hooks, like four-pointed anchors, hung to chains, to be wound up by capstans, and seamen from Genoa, "who looked more like fish than men," were called to adjust the hooks on and around the prow of the first ship. The immense weight of the wreck baffled their efforts; the chains broke; many of the hooks were lost, and the few that were successfully hauled up brought to the surface fragments, which filled the assistants with marvel and admiration. It was seen that the framework of the vessel, ribs and decks, was of larchwood; that the sides were made of boards three inches thick, caulked with tar and pieces of sail, and protected by sheets of lead fastened with copper nails. Alberti's description of the

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inside is rather obscure. He says the decks were built more to resist fire and violence of men than to withstand the rain and whatever waves there were in the lake. He speaks of an iron framework supporting a floor of *opus signinum*, and of other less comprehensible details. The last object discovered was a lead water pipe nine inches in diameter, upon which the name of Tiberius Cæsar was supposed to be engraved.

About a century later, in July, 1535, the attempt was renewed by Guillaume de Lorraine and Francesco de Marchi from Bologna, the famous military architect who was the master and the inspirer of Vauban. Guillaume had just invented a diving bell, or something like it, the secret of which de Marchi promised to maintain, and was trying experiments on the wreck at Nemi, keeping under water from one hour to one hour and a half. De Marchi went down the first time on July 15th, and looking through the glass of the spy-holes, which acted like lenses, was horrified at the sight of thousands of fish three feet long and as big around as his arms. They were nothing but *lattarini*, or "white-bait," sixty or seventy of which are required to make up a pound. De Marchi had taken down with him four ounces of bread and one of cheese. The crumbs that fell from his mouth while eating caused a still larger multitude of those tiny creatures to assemble, which, finding no more food to share, began to prick and bite the diver around the loins. "I wore no bathing trousers," says the hero himself, "for fear of meeting with the same fate that had befallen a fisherman near Florence at the time of Duke Alessandro de Medici. I saw him dive in the Arno one day and never reappear, because his trousers had been caught by a dead branch at the bottom of the river. I had also refused to follow the advice of Maestro Guglielmo, to stop my ears with cotton saturated with musk and other scents; but as soon as I reached the wreck I felt as if a steel blade was piercing my head from ear to ear, while the blood was pouring out of the nose and mouth."

At his second descent de Marchi remained one hour in the diving bell. His operations and doings are described in Book II., chapter 82, of the *Architettura Militare*, as follows:

"I tied to a stout rope part of the upper works, and dragged them to the surface with the help of a capstan. There was enough wood to load two mules, larch, pine, and cypress, and

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certain pegs of *quercus robur*, as black as ebony. We found also nails of iron, once as thick as a thumb, but reduced by the rust to the size of a quill pen. The nails, of pure copper and brass, were of all sizes and length, some two palms long, others of the size of my little finger. Their shining heads were cut like stars. The small ones held in place the lead sheets by which the lower works of the ship were bound. Between the lead sheets and the woodwork there were sheets of sails and a coating of tar, which would catch fire very easily and give a pleasant smell. The planks fitted into ribs which had a groove on either side to receive them, and their thickness increased towards the keel.

"The decks of the ship were paved with *tegulæ bipedales* (bricks 0.59 metre square) of reddish hue, and also with slabs of red enamel, one of which measured 1.78 by 1.12 metres. We saw some dark recesses, which were rooms, but I did not dare to enter them for fear of losing sight of the diving bell. I tried the experiment but once, holding tight to a guide-rope, but I nearly lost my life, having rolled down one of the ship's stairs. Maestro Guglielmo assured me that the decks were supported by copper beams, but I have not seen them. At last my partner decided to cut the wreck to pieces from the outside. We began with one of the main crossbeams, which was secured to a rope, and the rope to a capstan manœuvered by sixteen men from Genzano. The effort proved fruitless. The last thing to do was to measure the size of the ship. . . . I found it to be seventy *canne* in length, thirty-five in breadth, eight in depth." These measures correspond to a length of one hundred and fifty-six metres, to a breadth of seventy-eight, to a depth of seventeen and four-fifths. It is not necessary to dwell on the absurdity of applying such figures to a ship; they are genuine, but they belong to an altogether different object.

The third attempt was made in 1827 by Annesio Fusconi, who has left an account of it in a rare pamphlet.* Fusconi spent about $6,000 on the experiment: half the amount being wasted on a theatrical *mise en scène* for the accommodation of diplomatists, noblemen and prelates, who were to witness the beginning of the operations on September 10th of that year. He says in his report that the ship is lying on the steep bottom of

* *Memoria archeologico-idraulica sulla nave dell' imperator Tiberio, dedicata a S. M. Michele I., re di Portogallo.* Roma, 1839.

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the lake, eleven metres and a half from the shore, with the stern 16.72 metres, and the prow 30 metres below the level of the water, the direction of the wreck being from north to south. The objects brought ashore by his divers were:—the capital of a brass column, discs of porphyry and serpentine belonging to a pavement, *tegulæ bipedales,* or bricks, two feet square, cased in an iron grating, on which the letters TIB. CAES. (?) were engraved; terra cotta pipes for the distribution of water, copper and iron nails half a metre long, larch and pine beams, some of which measured 15 61 metres; planks of larch and pine 4.90 metres long, 0.38 metre wide. Many of the beams were studded with nails of copper, having gilt heads. Fusconi speaks also of marble fragments of various kinds of enamel and mosaic floors, of slabs of porphyry and serpentine which were brought to the surface, and also of statues, columns and beams of metal seen by the divers, but not recovered. It is curious to know what the fate of these spoils was.

One of the beams, with twenty big nails driven through it, was purchased by the Jesuit Fathers for the Kircherian Museum, where it is still to be seen. Forty tiles were used by the late Prince Alessandro Torlonia for paving a boudoir in his palace, in the Piazza di Venezia; he also bought the seventy planks to make pieces of furniture. Out of other portions of wood, Fusconi himself made snuff-boxes, walking-sticks, smoking-pipes, *nécessaires de voyage,* etc., which, after being polished, took the color of acajou. The rest of the spoils was bought by the Vatican Museum. It seems, however, that no importance was attached to them; they were never exhibited, and only the other day they were rediscovered in a store-room by the *Cortile del Bramante.* I hear that the most essential piece, the would-be iron grating inscribed with the name of Tiberius, is missing.

Before coming to the latest discoveries, I must quote the opinion of a celebrated archæologist and competent judge, Antonio Nibby, who witnessed Fusconi's search, and speaks of it in the following terms:

"Having examined most carefully the objects brought ashore, and having collected and sifted the evidence of Fusconi's divers about what they had seen at the bottom of the lake, I have satisfied myself that the supposed ship is nothing else but the framework and the foundation (on piles) of a building which pro-

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jected into the water at a considerable distance from the shore. The beams are of larch and pine wood, fastened with great metal nails ; the floors, formed of large tiles, rest on an iron grating, on which the name CAISAR is impressed in letters of ancient shape. This name brings back to our memory the passage of Suetonius, in chapter 46 of the life of Julius Cæsar : *Villam in Nemorensi a fundamentis inchoatam, magnoque sumptu absolutam, quia non tota ad animum ei responderat, totam diruisse, quamquam tenuem adhuc et obaeratum.* Cæsar began building on the shores of the lake of Nemi a costly and magnificent villa, but destroyed it when nearly finished, as it did not quite suit his taste nor answer his expectations. The stamp CAISAR, with the *cognomen* alone, is special to the dictator, and I can vouch that there was no *praenomen* TI(*berius*), much less any trace of letters that could be attributed to Trajan. I think, therefore, that the supposed great ship is nothing but the foundation, on piles, of a terrace of Cæsar's villa projecting into the lake, upon which a building of some kind was raised. The spot where the remains are found lies just opposite the sanctuary of the goddess."*

The present search was undertaken in October last by three private gentlemen, with the consent of Prince Filippo Orsini, the owner of Nemi and its lake, to whom one-third of the eventual profits will belong. The exploration has been entrusted to a couple of divers, who have already shown their skill in submarine or sub-fluvial work. At first they were allowed to avail themselves of the crowbar and of the saw and hatchet, but the State officials having objected to the use of such instruments, and to the dismembering of the wreck piece by piece, as had been done on former occasions, the divers are now reduced to the help of their hands alone, and will soon be obliged to strike work for want of movable and light objects to recover. Those already brought to the surface are:

A. Fragments of marble and enamel incrustation of a surface which must be that of a wall more than of a pavement, because the crusts are so thin and at the same time so perfect that they cannot have been much walked or trampled upon. These incrustations, the most exquisite I have ever seen, are made of discs of porphyry and serpentine, not thicker than a silver dollar, sur-

*Antonio Nibby ; *Dintorni di Roma* Vol. II., p. 395.

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rounded with segments and lines of *"pasta vitrea"* or enamel, white and gold, white and red, and red, white and green. The colors are perfectly brilliant.

B. Six great mooring-rings; another exquisite product of the Greco-Roman art of the first century after Christ. They are cast in bronze, and represent heads of lions, wolves, tigers and one of Medusa: this last without a ring in the mouth. The back of these *"mascheroni"* is made like a socket, so as to fit to the head of a beam, like a thimble to the finger. Five sockets are square, one round. The head of Medusa is perfectly beautiful: not a trace of the monstrous details which appear in archaic types, except the serpentine arrangement of the hair. The wings, which complete her toilet, are light and feathery and the coils of the snakes, graceful and artistic. To the mooring-rings from the lake of Nemi a prominent place will surely be given in the history of ancient art.

C. A panel from the railing which formed the parapet of the wreck, cast in solid copper. The design of its open work resembles that of a *transenna,* which the Romans used in their *maeniana* and early Christians in the enclosure of their *presbyteria.* The railing was probably gilt. There are also bronze bases of the pilasters to which the panels were fixed.

D. Two or three dozen bronze rollers, some cylindrical, some spherical, the axles of which fitted into rings or round holes. It is not easy to tell what they were used for: perhaps the wreck had movable partitions of wood or metal, the sliding of which was made easier by the rollers.

E. Fragments from the lower works of the wreck, absolutely identical with those described by Alberti, de Marchi, and Fusconi. There are the ribs and the thick boards nailed to them, and there is the triple coating of tar, of pieces of sails, and of sheets of lead. I have seen also two sheets of copper, the edges of which fit into each other like the *tuiles à la Marseillaise* of a modern roof. Probably they answered to the same purposes.

F. Pieces of the same lead waterpipe, nine inches in diameter, on which the *cinquccento* archæologists fancied to have seen cast the name of Tiberius Cæsar. The section now recovered—many feet in length—bears the legend,

. CAESARIS - AVGVSTI - GERMANICI.

The dot which precedes the first letter proves that something is

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missing at the beginning of the legend. With the help of photography and of casts it has been ascertained that there was but one letter before the dot, and that the letter was either a C or a G. In both cases there is no doubt that the Emperor, at whose expense the pipe was laid out, is Caius or Gaius *Caligula*, the Germanicus *par excellence*.

G. A pavement of *tegulæ bipedales* of which five or six hundred have been put aside. Many of them bear the stamp of the *figulinae Marcianae*, brick kilns of a Marcius . . . . which flourished in the second half of the first century. The pavement rests on a bed of *opus signinum*, a mixture of cement and broken tiles.

H. I can mention in the last place the discovery of some of the anchor-shaped hooks used by Leon Battista Alberti nearly four and a half centuries ago, much reduced in size, and consumed by rust.

What are the conclusions to be drawn from these discoveries? Archæologists have divided themselves into two camps; one favoring the theory of a sunken ship, one supporting the idea of a landing pier with a construction of some kind upon it. As in many other cases each opinion rests on a foundation of truth. One thing does not exclude the other: there was a landing pier, there was a building of some kind upon it, and there was a ship of modest size, which has followed the fate of the landing, and lies alongside of it at the bottom of the lake.

I do not know whether the measures given by de Marchi, of 156 metres in length and 78 in breadth, deserve blind faith; and yet the method which he followed in taking them (described in book II. of the *Architettura Militare*) seems to be most rational of all. One of the gentlemen engaged in the present search has had floaters tied around the edge of the wreck, and he assures me that de Marchi's figures are not far from right. Now, an object which is half as broad as it is long cannot be a ship. Imagine the "Marblehead" or the "Charleston," of the U. S. Navy, to be 230 feet wide! The difficulty has been met by substituting the name of a raft or a pontoon for that of a ship; but the idea of a floating and movable object cannot be accepted, even in this modified form. The Lake of Nemi is hardly 2,000 metres across in its smallest diameter, so that the pontoon would have covered one-thirteenth of that distance! Then comes the difficulty of the water-

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pipe, which must have been connected directly with the spring or the reservoir on shore. Adding to this the pavement of tiles resting on a bed of concrete, the marble and enamel incrustations of walls, the architectural fragments seen and collected by former explorers, and, above all, the mooring-rings, it is evident that the wreck of the Lake of Nemi was solidly and firmly built on or near the shore; and that we must identify it with a pier, or jetty, or landing-place, resting on piles, lined with mooring-rings for the accommodation of the small boats plying on the *speculum Dianæ*, and supporting a construction of some kind—a boat house, or a bathing or fishing establishment. When the pier sank, through the collapsing of the piles on which it was founded, the whole platform slid down the steep incline of the bottom to a distance of about 150 feet from the shore.

There is no doubt that a large boat must have shared the same fate at the same time, because some of the pieces recovered on the present and on former occasions, like the ribs, the boards coated with tar and canvas, the curved beams, etc., admit no other explanation.

I am inclined to believe that the great sanctuary owned a small fleet on the lake, which was used for the conveyance of pilgrims from shore to shore as well as for religious ceremonies. The *Artemisium Nemorense* ranked among the famous pilgrimages of the Roman world, not only as a place of worship and devotion, but also as a hydro-therapeutic resort. Diana was also worshipped here as Lucina. The multitudes approached the sanctuary from the station of *Cynthianum* (Gensano) of the Appian Way, by a branch road which reaches the shore exactly at the place where the remains of the landing pier have been found.

I am informed at the last moment that the wreck of another boat has been discovered five hundred yards northeast of the pier. It lies in deep water, and seems not so well preserved as the other. The only object brought to the surface as yet, is a large bronze hand of the kind called *pantheæ*, from the superstitious symbols ἀποτρόπαια which usually cover them. These hands were considered to keep away the evil eye, like the horn of the Neapolitans of the present day. I suppose that one of these protecting emblems was hoisted at the prow of this second boat.

RODOLFO LANCIANI.

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THE FUTURE LIFE AND THE CONDITION OF MAN THEREIN.—II.

BY THE RIGHT HONORABLE W. E. GLADSTONE.

I.—OF A FUTURE LIFE (*Continued*).

We are not to suppose that those who maintain the natural immortality of the human soul, of necessity intend thereby a life so conditioned that it is beyond the power of the Almighty to put an end to it. Clarke, in answer to Collins, points out that God may have more ways of disposing of His creatures after death "than we are let into the secret of."

He may, indeed, if He please annihilate them at the dissolution of their bodies (and so He might, if He thought fit, annihilate the souls of men; and yet it would be nevertheless true that they are in their own nature immortal).*

When we speak, then, of the natural immortality of the soul, what is the idea that we have in view? Is it an immortality like that of God Himself, and is it such that a soul, having been introduced into the universe, becomes inseparable from it, or must under all conditions continue to form part of it? It is scarcely possible to suppose this to be seriously held.

There is another conception, which Clarke includes under the phrase of natural immortality, and which is radically different from this. It is that the soul is framed (so to speak) upon the lines of immortality, as the destination alone appropriate to its nature, and to the consummation of that nature; and, further, that it will continue to exist unless it shall please God to impose upon it a doom which will put an end to that existence. As the

* Clarke's Defence of an argument made use of in his Reply to Dodwell, page 103.

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body is framed to die, so the soul is framed to live. This would seem to be Clarke's conception.

Then there is a third conception which in so far agrees with the second that it regards the soul as qualified by its nature to attain to immortality; but varies from it in so much as it does not hold the soul to be endowed with that gift at birth, but conceives of it as a gift derived from the Incarnation of our Lord, and the renovating powers which it provided, to be put in exercise on behalf of our fallen nature. It inverts a portion of the last-named idea. The one says, "the soul may live, but it will be by the reception of a special gift." The other says, "the soul may die, but it will be by the infliction of a special doom"; and if that doom shall prove to be the natural consequence of inveterate sin, spread like a canker over and within its entire substance, the question which remains is practical rather than merely theoretical. It is whether God will allow sin, as a deadly disease, to accomplish its perfect work in the destruction or cessation of the sinner; or whether sin, in the person of the wicked, will continue, under all conditions, and as indefeasibly as the immortal righteous shall adorn it, to deface the aspect of creation.

Then there remains the further question: how much, on this mysterious and solemn subject, has the Almighty Wisdom deemed it meet to reveal to us?

There is, of course, a fourth mode of dealing with the question which regards the soul as subject, like the body, to dissolution, which is for both of them without hope of revocation. But with this view, that of the pure negationist, and the converse of the first-named conception, we have here nothing to do.

The difference between the second and the third of these schemes does not appear to be great in the abstract, for the first of them allows that the soul may be smitten by a doom of annihilation, while the second involves the belief that it may receive immortality by gift, and that it is appointed so to do in the normal course of its existence. But room is left for practical differences of the most important kind. For if, while the doom of annihilation is admitted to be possible in the abstract, it is also held that the idea of such a doom is excluded from the counsels of Providence, then the immortality of all human souls is absolute for every practical purpose, whereas under the other hypothesis it remains an entirely open question except for such

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souls as may attain to immortality through union with the Divine nature.

So much with respect to the subject itself. Now with regard to the evidence which seemingly caused Butler to stop short of affirming for himself the tenet of natural immortality. We may consider it as derivable from reasoning, from consent, or from authority.

With regard to the first head, Butler had before him all the remarkable achievements of those among the ancient philosophers who contended for the immortality of the human soul. This conception rose to its climax with Pindar among the poets, and with Plato in the Groves of the Academy. We habitually suppose and with reason that this great performance was achieved mainly by reasoning in the abstract and of a metaphysical character. But in a remarkable passage of the Timæus,* Plato represents the Supreme God as charging the inferior gods, whom he had produced, to construct men in imitation of his example. And he will himself sow the seed in these beings of the part which is worthy of the name immortal, and will hand it over to them for completion.† Plato may have founded this ascription to the Deity on the conviction which he had worked out for himself by his abstract argument. He was not well supported by the rival schools of philosophy. The powerful mind of Aristotle did not embrace the conception of a personal and practical immortality for man.‡ "The really human in the soul, that which has come into being, must also pass away." This is taken by Döllinger as the sum of his doctrine. And the Stoics "viewed the soul as destined to immediate reabsorption into the great world-soul after death," or, as surviving only for a time.§ Then came the school of deliberate extinctionists headed by Epicurus; and it seems probable that his following among men of the world was greater than among philosophers. The doctrine of immortality has impressed but slight footprints upon the Roman literature. The letters and poetry of consolation, which antiquity has bequeathed to us, are especially instructive in this respect. Nor did matters improve with the lapse of time: and the grave Juvenal informs us

* Plat., Tim., 10, 1. The words describing the productive operation of the Supreme God are ὁ τόδε τὸ πᾶν γεννήσας; rendered by Jowett "the Creator of the Universe."

† See Salmond, *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, page 151.

‡ Döllinger, *Heidenthum und Judenthum*.

§ Salmond, *Ibid.* and Grote's Plato, II., 204.

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that none in his day believed in the survival of the soul, unless such as had not yet emerged from boyhood.* The language of Cicero, partially quoted by John Smith, is highly inconsistent. Grote declares that Plato settled nothing, and agrees with Lord Macaulay that the philosophers from Plato to Franklin who attempted to prove immortality without the aid of revelation, failed deplorably.†

And Butler could not but be well aware that the question of the soul's immortality, open to so much abstract discussion, had been incurably apt to wander into entanglement with the preexistence and transmigration of souls, and that desperate battles had to be fought both against terminability and on behalf of individuality. Nor was the abstract argument altogether on one side. Is it not contrary to all the analogies of present experience, we are asked, to suppose that I, who lately began to be, shall never cease to be, or that I shall not be refunded into unconscious existence as in the centuries before I was born? Whatever is generable must surely be perishable. My soul if immortal must have existed before my birth: and if its existence then no way concerns me now, as little will its existence after death.‡

This portion of the field, the portion depending upon argument, was open, I conceive, to Bishop Butler as it is to us. On the argument from the general consent of mankind he had not the sources of information that we possess. The religions of Egypt, China, Persia, India, Chaldea, with Assyria, had not been laid open to the world. The religions of the uncivilized races had not been so largely elucidated by knowledge obtained upon the paths of travel. The roads open to him were principally those which led to an acquaintance with the sentiments of two races, the Greek and the Roman, the most powerful ever known in the world, one in the world of thought, and the other in the world of action.

The first and also the fullest record supplied to us on the thought of the Greeks concerning an unseen and future world is that which we find in the poems of Homer. The largest mass of such information continuously given is that contained in the eleventh book of the Odyssey; but much is also to be gathered from notices dispersed throughout both the poems.

* Juv. Sat. II., 149.
† Grote's Plato, II., 203-5.
‡ Campbell Fraser, *Philosophic Theism*, page 16. (Gifford Lectures for 1894-5.)

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The most important of the affirmative propositions which the evidence will warrant is that everywhere there seems to be a protest of nature, a shrinking from the idea of simple extinction at death; nowhere is it mentioned or in any manner entertained at a very early date. The life or soul is as distinct from the bodily organization as is the body of one man from the body of another. The entire man is at death severed into parts, but the nature of the division made, the question where lay the true self, is open to dispute. Twice Homer speaks of what has happened to the αὐτός, or *ego*, after that last earthly crisis: once at the beginning of the Iliad, where he says the wrath of Achilles prematurely dispatched many souls of heroes to the under-world, but they, the αὐτοί, remain to be the prey of dogs and birds;* the other where at the close of the eleventh Odyssey we are introduced to Heracles in Hades as a shade or εἴδωλον only, for he himself (αὐτός) has been admitted to the banquets of the Immortals, and then has Hebe for his mate.† But Heracles was a favored mortal. The glimpses of future happiness are extremely rare.

Again; the whole apparatus, so to speak, of the Homeric Under-world is foreign: as much so as the frame-work and picture of the supernal world is Hellenic. Olympus is within Achaian limits; the entrance to Hades is by the Ocean River at the remotest border of the earth. The Egyptian Amenti reappears in the name of Rhadamanthos, but this name is not placed in connection with any judicial function. True, we have Minos introduced as a judge in Hades, but he has nothing to do with awarding destinies based upon earthly conduct: he is a police magistrate, hearing the complaints and ordering the controversies of the ghostly community.‡ The questions of pre-existence and transmigration are nowhere touched in Homer for whom the ψυχή is indeed not so much the soul in its proper sense, as the living being or living agent treated of in Butler's works. If we are asked whether the shades of the Homeric poems were immortal, we have no means of providing a full answer to the question. Except in a single passage, where he refers to the rapidity with which thought (νόος) traverses or neutralizes space in dealing with its proper subjects,§ he never seems to have thought of the human spirit apart from its experiences in the flesh: much less would he, whose grasp of numbers, except within narrow limits,

* Il. I., 2. † Od. XI., 601-3.
‡ Od. XI., 568-71. § Il. XV., 80, 1.

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was totally indeterminate, endeavor to realize to himself that idea of absolutely deathless existence, which is indeed altogether beyond the reach of human faculty, and the idea of which is only and very faintly approached by the largest use of numeration. I reserve for another place what relates to the condition of man in another world. We are here concerned only with duration : and as to duration, we may safely say that the early or Achaian Greeks believed in survival, that their detailed embodiment of it was not indigenous, but imported, and that the conception is not broad enough to comprise the idea implied by natural immortality.

In the great historic ages of Greece, the old Achaian or Homeric conception of the future life tended rather to dwindle than to grow. It nowhere assumed the character of a force operative through personal expectations upon life. Yet the idea of extinction and death, while it was argued for and against in the philosophic schools, had no place in the mind or heart of humanity at large. Grote, who has formed so low an estimate of the upshot of the great labors of Plato, nevertheless writes as follows: "The popular orthodoxy recognized some sort of posthumous existence as a part of its creed, and the uninquiring multitude continued in the teaching and traditions of their youth."* If, however, we wish to appreciate the practical attitude of the public mind with reference to the world of shadows, we must look, not so much to tragedians who had to deal with Archaic traditions and ideals of life, as to Aristophanes, who bodied forth the true form and pressure of his time, and who leaves upon us the impression that the prevailing conception of the future life had been effectually stripped of all that could make it either venerable in theory or operative upon life. The early part of the "Frogs" of Aristophanes appears to supply conclusive evidence that the under-world and the future life could safely be made the theme of ridicule before the most cultivated and popular audience in Greece or in the world.

The thought of Greece was directed to affirming the sufficiency of the earthly life; but its freedom left ample room for speculation on the future. The Latins were little disposed to formulate either in the one direction or the other, and practically made no addition to the materials which Butler had before him.

*Grote's Plato, II., 204.

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The most important part of those materials has still to be considered, the part which could claim the authority of a Divine Revelation. Butler could not admit such a claim into the argument of his first chapter. But neither could he fail to consider for himself what bearing the state of ideas disclosed in the Old Testament might have on the question of the natural immortality of the soul. In Genesis I., 26, we read thus: "And God said, let us make man in our image after our likeness"; and much thought has been bestowed on the great question wherein did this image of God consist? We are guided up to the meaning in part by the place which the passage holds in the narrative of the first chapter. It is a narrative of ascension; and thus we see at once that the being introduced in this manner was differentiated from the last previously named order of creation by a higher intelligence. So much, however, we should have inferred from the general arrangement, even in the absence of the very marked introduction, and of the descriptive phrase. So that interpreters have reasonably looked for meanings which would convey the idea of a true likeness to God, though not one commensurable with God, nor pushing us into His province. These they have found in purity and integrity of the moral nature; in freedom of the will; and in immortality—all this not perfect, yet in training for perfection, and put in a probation which was guarded by the penalties that were to follow upon sin.

St. Augustine has dealt largely with the case of Adam, and appears to have felt the subject to be difficult; for he says of his own work, *plura quaesita quam inventa sunt; et eorum quae inventa sunt, pauciora firmata; caetera non ita posita, velut adhuc requirenda sint.** In his work on Genesis he says that the body of Adam in his innocence was mortal, because it might die; immortal, because it might escape death. It was not an immortal nature like some others, *sicut quasdam naturas immortales creavit Deus;* but it had a capacity of immortality through the tree of life; *quod ei praestabatur de ligno vitae, non de constitutione naturae.* For nothing is immortal except the spiritual (body) which is only promised to us at the resurrection. *Neque enim immortale quod mori omnino non possit, erit nisi spirituale, quod nobis futurum in resurrectione promittitur.* But by the Fall it became no longer mortal

* Lib. II. *Retractationum*, c. 24.

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only, but dead. *Factum est propter peccatum non mortale . . . sed mortuum.**

Besides the tree of knowledge which was forbidden to Adam there was set in the garden the tree of life, on which, in his state of innocence, he was permitted to feed. According to the plain reading of the text, this tree (as the other would have given knowledge) was so endowed as to give immortality. "And now lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live forever; therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the Garden of Eden."† It is said that this may be an allegory. But, allegory or no allegory, in this view it is all the same. By the tree of life is signified something which had lain open to the access and use of man, and which would, by the ordinance of God, have enabled him to live forever. St. Augustine accepts this teaching in all its breadth, and elsewhere he says man was created an *anima vivens;* his body was a *corpus animale,* a body with an *anima.* He was not immortal by the necessity of nature, but would have become immortal by the tree of life had he not sinned, *nisi in Dei praedicentis minantisque sententiam deliquendo corruisset.*‡ There is nothing in these passages to show a survival of the *anima* after the death of the body, which was *animale.*

Elsewhere, however, St. Augustine teaches explicitly the immortality of the soul. After having felt his way upon the subject, he wrote a treatise, *De Immortalitate Animae,* and with this doctrine his name is prominently associated. To the last-named work is subjoined another, *De Animae Quantitate,* the argument of which, as might be expected, is far more of a metaphysical than of a theological character. But he did not estimate highly what had been achieved on this subject by human means. The immortality of the soul had been discovered only by a very few, under the most favorable circumstances. And even these either thought that the souls would after a term return to the miseries of this life, or else believed in the eternity of the world *a parte ante,* that is to say disbelieved in creation.§ When we come down to the time of St. Thomas Aquinas, we find the principle of natural immortality laid down broadly and without hesitation. *Forma autem hominis est anima*

* *De Genesi ad literam,* B. VI., c. 36. † Genesis III., 22, 23.
‡ *De Civ. Dei.* XIII., 23. § *De Trinitate,* XIII., 12.

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rationalis, quae est de se immortalis: meaning apparently with a proper and indefeasible immortality ordained of God. This appears to indicate a great clearing and hardening of opinion since the time of St. Augustine. But there was as yet no declaration proceeding from an authority competent to bind either the Universal or the Western Church; and it may be that Butler did not take great account of what may be regarded as no more than a current of ecclesiastical opinion, philosophical rather than theological in its ultimate grounds. But, without doubt, he would take account of the facts presented to him by the Scriptures of the Old Testament. In his mind a future state was an article of natural religion; and natural religion was due to primitive revelation, for the traces of which he might consistently and reasonably search.

The indications there afforded when co-ordinated one with another bear no marks of the idea of natural immortality either as distinctly revealed or as prevalent among mankind at large, but are on the other hand as far as possible from giving countenance to the idea of extinction, either at the moment of death or upon the lapse of any assumed period after it. Some see in them a gradual ripening and development of the belief as we pass down the centuries.* I have not been able to discover it: the survival of the soul presents itself to me as generally held and in the abstract unquestioned from the earliest date, but as so indeterminate that it sometimes appears to border on, though it never enters, the region of negation. The scriptural tradition offers its contribution to a consent general as against extinction, but refusing submission to any formal statement.

The date of Enoch, the father of Methuselah, is even according to the Hebrew chronology as far back as nearly the middle of the fourth millennium before the Advent. The account of his translation is therefore by far the oldest of scriptural records indicative of the accepted belief. There can be none more beautiful; and it seems to me as if there could not be a more forcible proof that the idea of survival beyond the grave was accepted and familiar among the race for whom the book of Genesis was compiled, and that the happy destinies of the righteous could appropriately be presented to them in terms which upon any other supposition could hardly have taken this

*Salmond.

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simple and summary form. But it relates only to a person of distinguished righteousness.

I do not dwell on Deuteronomy xxxii., 22, which threatens that the divine wrath shall "burn unto the lowest hell"; for the context appears to connect the sentiment with temporal judgments.* The absence of all considerations belonging to a future state from the Mosaic legislation is however a fact not less remarkable than any of the notices of that state contained in the Old Testament. It has been common to believe that no scheme of religion, no system of duty and obedience for man towards God could be constructed on any other system than the belief in a future state: and Warburton founded himself on its absence from the Mosaic system to draw contrast between Moses and other legislators; and argued that as he was able to dispense with what they had found essential he must have possessed a mainstay which they had not, namely the revealed authority of God.

Moses had brought the children of Israel out of a land where religion and life were closely bound up with the expectation of retribution in the unseen world. But it was essential to keep the Hebrew worship far removed from contact with Egyptian polytheism. On this account we can readily suppose the Hebrew legislator to have avoided a great danger by dispensing with this form of sanction for his laws. But this avoidance in no way indicates the substantive means which allowed him to draw adequate strength from other quarters, in lieu of that to which he was unable to repair. These elements of strength, whatever their nature, were such as empowered him not only to take his place among legislators, but also to construct a scheme of astonishing durability, which, after three thousand years and upwards of the most searching and violent experiences, is still alive and at work within our view among many millions of our fellow men; which is associated in them with many remarkable gifts, and which does not exhibit the smallest likelihood of disappearance from the face of human things.

These elements of strength are not difficult to discern.

In the first place the unity of God was a pure and profound conception engrained in the heart and mind of the race, tested by the servitude in Egypt on the one hand, and by the signal events of the great deliverance on the other. It is true that even this

* So Pool *in loc.* and references in the Speaker's Commentary.

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race was not always firm in its resistance to temptation ; yet many suppose that the worship of the Golden Calf was not the conscious setting up of a separate and rival power, but only the sign of a lust for the symbol supplied by a visible form. And the same may, I suppose, be said of Jeroboam* with more obvious support from the narrative, since he made not one calf like Aaron but two, and placed them at opposite extremities of the northern kingdom with a view to convenience of access. And his motive was on political grounds to supply the people with a substitute for the journey to Jerusalem. What is the power which this doctrine of the Divine Unity can exercise, even in conjunction with most faulty elements, over man, we may judge from the immense development of force displayed at a later period of history in conjunction with the Mahometan propaganda.

Moreover, this one God, as a covenanted God, was placed in a special relation to the people. "I have sworn once by my holiness that I will not fail David." This brought the Deity nearer to them ; and in so doing gave them a greater conscious nearness to Him. All this was sustained by the powerful three-fold combination of a ritual divinely ordered and privileged, of miracle, and of prophecy. And the religious machinery of the Hebrew system was enforced by the alternate experiences of prosperity and misfortune in association with national conduct, and in accordance with the promises and threats of the great Law-giver.†

Yet there is one vital element still to be noted in connection with this unparalleled case of a religious system founded exclusively on temporal considerations. The Mosaic revelation was not the oldest in the world, nor was that older revelation, which had descended along the line of the patriarchs, become extinct. On the contrary it was upheld and transmitted in warm vitality among such of the community as were of spiritual minds, and asserted itself with an extraordinary splendor in the Psalms. The Mosaic narrative itself gives us glimpses of the under world ; for in various passages when our authorized text speaks of passing into the grave, this is not the mere earthly grave, but Sheol, the insatiable, undiscriminating receptacle of the dead.‡ The indication of a world beyond the present one, to be inhabited by man, is perfectly distinct ; but that world is pointed to as something which is wholly extraneous to the Mosaic precinct properly so

* Ex. xxxii. 4. 1 Kings xii., 28. 29. † As in Deut., xxx., xxxi.
‡ Genesis xxxvii., 35; xlii., 38; xliv., 31.

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called. But the book of Job which nowhere refers to the Mosaic law or to the history of the Israelites may seem to represent the human tradition beyond the limit of the chosen people, and at a period, as appears to be generally held, of great but uncertain antiquity. For these reasons its repeated references to an unseen world and a future state are of special interest,* most of all the remarkable anticipation of a great Messianic day. The translation of Elijah affords a most imposing testimony to the general acceptance of belief in another world, as from a very different point of view does the episode of the Witch of Endor.† Then we have the marvellous anticipations found in a variety of Psalms, qualified it is true in their recording evidence by such passages as represent a transitory drooping of the soul in the face of its trials and of the formidable incidents of death. This seems, however, never to be without an upward gaze which always involves the idea of possible deliverance, as in Psalm lxxix., 9–12, even though it is not invariably followed by an instant reappearance of the sun from behind the clouds. Thus we have in Psalm xxx. (9, 11), "Shall the dust give thanks unto Thee, or shall it declare Thy truth?" followed and relieved forthwith by "Thou hast turned my heaviness into joy, Thou hast put off my sackcloth, and girded me with gladness." I will not follow the testimony through Ecclesiastes and the Prophets. Unless in the remarkable picture of the final issue of divine government and retribution presented by the book of Daniel,‡ the witness is upon the whole consistent to a general belief in survival, in Sheol or an under world shadowy and sad, with no developed conception of immortality (in the strict sense now attaching to the word) for the human soul or references of that gift to its nature, but with occasional glimpses of the blessed condition of the righteous and their vision of God after death to which no idea of further change is appended.

It was conformable to the general tone of Butler's mind and sustains our high conception of his judgment, that on the one hand he should have mistrusted the abstract reasonings by which it had been attempted through so many ages down to the time of Clarke, to enlarge the idea of survival into that of immortality, and to lift it from the region of hope into that of formulated dogma; that he should have found the evidence before him, large and weighty as it was, yet wanting in the precision necessary for

* Job xviii., 14; *et al.* especially xix., 25-27. † 2 Kings ii., 11; 1. Sam. xxviii., 7.
‡ XII., 2, 3.

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a creed; that he should have been content with the modest presumptions he could draw first from indications attendant upon death and then from the surer inferences supplied by the experience of moral government in the world, and above all by the authoritative declarations of the Christian Revelation.

Since the time of Butler, there has been a great enlargement of knowledge on the subject of the traditions of a future life, though nothing to alter the fundamental conditions of the problems which they present. This enlargement has been due to three causes at least: The study of the sacred books of the ancient religions outside the Hebrew pale; the wonderful revelations of linguistic skill and archæological research in Egypt and Assyria; and the multiplication of the opportunities found by travellers for ascertaining the ideas which prevailed among the outlying fractions of the human race.

The result, as far as I can collect it, has been as follows:

(1.) Greatly to enlarge the proof of a belief in some existence for man beyond the grave, which may fairly be called primitive and universal, even if it leave room for a somewhat feeble doubt with respect to this belief among a few of the waifs and strays of mankind, and for a melancholy exception among a very small fraction of educated and civilized mankind.

(2.) The conception of the state of the dead in general was wholly indeterminate as to particulars, but as a whole was shrouded in melancholy and gloom.

(3.) The duration of the new existence in the unseen world came little into view except among those capable of speculation; and not only is there hardly a trace of formulated immortality, but the whole argument continues all along a matter of controversy, and no scheme obtains general concurrence or ascendancy.

(4.) It was this question of duration which may have led men to perplex and load their idea of the future life with the doctrines of transmigration, pre-existence, and absorption, all of which tended to displace those corner stones of the true doctrine, individuality and responsibility, without which the whole conception woefully abates its dignity and interest.

(5.) Some think that the idea of a future state exhibited advance and development with the lapse of time. And those who educe religion out of an original fetishism are in a manner compelled to sustain their theory with this sister belief. Apart from

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Christianity, the evidence of history appears to me to teach an opposite lesson, and to present a picture of religious decline in this order of ideas with no clear or certain advance in philosophical clearness or consistency. The declarations (*a*) in the case of Enoch, (*b*) in the case of Elijah, (*c*) in the book of Job, and (*d*) in the public worship of Israel through the Psalter, seem to supply a larger mass of evidence as to positive and popular belief than can be gathered from the testimonies available for the period which divided the Exile from the Advent.

(6.) The state of ideas subsisting among the Jews during the lifetime of our Lord gives no conclusive evidence of advance, and even supplies indications which may seem to tend in another direction. Suppose it granted that the Pharisees were the party dominant among educated Jews. Their general belief in a future state is placed beyond dispute by Acts xxiii., 6-8. But we cannot infer their having mastered the resurrection or embraced the doctrine of a future judgment according to the prophecy of Daniel xii. On the other hand, let us observe that in the parable of Dives, which opened to the Jews the idea of future retribution, the subject is not handled as if any such idea were planted in the general belief, but the prayer of the suffering spirit is that one may be sent from the dead in order to reveal it, and the reply of Abraham is not that it is already familiar, but that it might, and ought to be, known from the ancient Scriptures.* This seems to limit the received opinion to that vague and undefined expectation of survival to which we have such redundant testimony at early dates. There is this alike to be remarked. For the first time in Hebrew history the Sadducees present to us an instance of formulated opinion adverse to survival. Sheltering themselves under a professed regard to the Mosaic law, they hold that ground as a recognized party, and appear to take common ground with the Pharisees, and to be admitted by them as coadjutors in attempts to oppose or baffle our Blessed Lord.

I have dwelt thus at length on the opinion of natural immortality, and on the absence of evidence in its favor as distinguished from simple survival, because it seems to have played a most important part in stirring and fomenting the controversies which are now so rife as to the condition of man in a future state.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

(*To be continued.*)

* Luke xvi., 27-31.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS.

OUR "UNCLE SAMUEL" AND HIS I. O. U.'S.

It used to be said and sung, with quite literal truth, that "Our Uncle Sam is rich enough to give us all a farm"; and our expectancy, as his heirs, is not less valuable now than it was in the more bucolic days when his landed estate consisted in larger degree of virgin pastures. Still, it must be confessed that, presently, our Uncle is financially a little "hard up."

There is no reason, in reason, why he should be in such a condition—neither why he should have come to it, or remain in it, but the fact is he has not managed very well. His credit has been too good and he has "run his face" with altogether too much freedom—particularly for call loans, in which form he has scattered far and wide hundreds of millions of dollars of his I. O. U.'s—notes promising to pay the bearers, on demand, varying amounts, from one dollar to ten thousand dollars.

In this rather reckless way he has gone on for years; but his general business has hitherto been so good and profitable, that he has always had plenty of money on hand for current needs; and as, until recently, everybody has had such perfect confidence in his solvency and honesty that seldom any one asked him to pay any of his obligations, it is perhaps not very surprising that "Uncle Samuel" has not heretofore fully realized the unwisdom, if not serious danger, of permitting the continued outstanding of so large an amount of overdue indebtedness.

In fact, his credit has been so good that his notes—his paper promises to pay dollars—have circulated generally in the place of and just like actual money, until, indeed, a large portion of the people have come to think of them as really being money, instead of the obligations, that they simply are, for its payment.

It is probable that such popular delusion is most largely responsible for our Uncle's present embarrassment, for the readiness with which the public received his notes and the facility with which they have been used to perform the functions of money, coupled with a generous desire to help some of his silver-mining nephews sustain the market for their product, latterly led him into very rash speculations in silver bullion. He practically undertook to "corner the market" for silver, and in the operation bought enormous quantities of the white metal, which has so steadily depreciated in salable value that even he recognizes now that he is in for a heavy final loss on the investment. But that is not the worst of it—presently, at least. He easily can stand the actual direct loss which his silver finally must make him. The greater trouble is that he did not pay for the silver, but bought

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it on credit, giving therefor his demand notes to a vast amount, and which it was generally understood, as he in practice has recognized, are payable in gold, if so desired by their holders. To be sure, the notes do not in terms so state—it would have been well if they had—but clearly they were paid out and have passed into circulation upon that theory, and good faith and all-sufficient selfish considerations require that they be treated as obligations redeemable in gold. And like reasons apply with equal force to all outstanding obligations of our "Uncle Samuel." Whatever their literal terms of payment, they have been given currency at a valuation predicated upon the gold standard, and under circumstances of such expressed or fairly implied assurance that he would sustain them at such valuation, that he cannot now, with either honor or business wisdom, permit any doubts to exist in the public mind as to his intention faithfully to meet his liabilities according to their established spirit.

And right here is the key to the embarrassing financial "condition which confronts" our "Uncle Samuel." His present impecuniosity is of small moment, although it has, of course, aggravated and directed attention (but with usefulness) to his more serious difficulty. That he is just now short of cash—a little troubled "to make both ends meet"—need not greatly disturb him. He can and should restore quickly the equilibrium between his income and expenses, by moderately increasing his tariff of business charges. His more serious embarrassments also need be but temporary, if he will awake to the importance of restoring his credit—which, with his resources, should be of the best at all times. For him that is the present concern of prime consequence. It is not so much more money that he needs—that is, it is not really necessary for him immediately to have more money for present wants, in any considerable amount; it is mainly good credit that is required to extricate him from his ominously impending business troubles. And firmly to re-establish his credit involves no demonstration of his ability finally to pay his debts. His abundant resources are well known; what his credit requires is moral restoration—public confidence, not only in his perfect solvency, but in his absolute honesty.

Ethical honesty is, of course, the best of all, and the safest guide; but there is also a vast usefulness, simply as a business tool, in that old saw, that "Honesty is the best policy."

Now, as indicated, no guaranty is needed that "Uncle Sam" can and will pay his debts; the one assurance lacking is simply that he will *faithfully* pay them, according to his creditors' justified expectations, in gold coin, and will not attempt to "dodge" or claim a technical right to satisfy his obligations with depreciated and depreciating silver dollars.

That point made affirmatively clear, and "Uncle Sam" can have the purses of the world, upon his own terms. All that will then be necessary permanently to avert the threatened financial crisis in his affairs, and which would spread ruin throughout the families of his nephews—whose credit inseparably depends upon his—is to provide for the gradual funding of his floating debt in reasonably low-rate-of-interest bonds, payable at a definite future date, or at his pleasure, and specifically, both principal and interest, in gold coin. The operation should not be stimulated, or hastened; simply provide that holders of his demand obligations, on presentation, shall receive therefor either gold coin, or, if mutually agreeable, the said gold bonds. With such continuing assurance, the funding process would progress slowly, without serious disturbance to his general business, and his current receipts

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of gold coin would undoubtedly meet all requirements for actual redemptions.

Dropping metaphor, it must be recognized that objections have been and will be made to the funding into interest-bearing debt, of the currency obligations of the government of the United States, upon the ground that such increased interest-charge is unnecessary—the fact being cited, with superficial force, that the government has long carried a large portion of the public debt in the form of non-interest bearing currency, and thus far has successfully maintained the same at par with gold. Such objectors, however, mistakenly count as clear gain the interest thus apparently saved, without making due allowance for, or duly understanding, the far greater pecuniary injury, which the continued outstanding of so great a volume of inelastic and unredeemable currency works directly and indirectly to the business interests of the people at large—who, in ultimate analysis, are the government.

There is also a not unworthy strong sentimental affection for the old "greenbacks," which were such a helpful and almost indispensable resource for the government in its great struggle for existence, in the late civil war. Such sentiment and its sustaining facts, if informed and interpreted by wisdom, should alone make it clear to broad-minded statesmanship that the power thus to raise money—or create an available substitute—in desperate emergencies, is one that should be carefully reserved in the fullness of its strength for such occasions. It is as important, in time of peace, to husband such powers, as it is to accumulate the other needed munitions of war.

And perhaps it must be expected that the less thoughtful of those whose interests and faith are bound up in "free silver" will be unwilling to have the government absolutely committed to the payment of all of its existing indebtedness in United States gold coin, or an equivalent satisfactory to its creditors.

But the true friends of silver should not object to a binding legislative affirmation of such purpose by the government. It would do nothing more than honestly acknowledge, in terms, what, in practice, the government now recognizes as the just measure of its liability to its creditors. It would place no added obstacle in the way of future enlarged use of silver. All the questions relating thereto would still remain open for such solution as hereafter may be possible. This, however, is not silver's day in court. The future of silver, either as a money metal or as a mine product, has quite as much at stake as any business interest in maintaining at the highest the credit and solvency of this government. If, in the near future, silver shall ever be restored to a purchasing power equal to 16 to 1 of gold, it will be only because and after the United States government has fully demonstrated its ability and fixed determination to sustain all of its mediums of exchange upon a parity with the gold standard of values. Our golden eagles will need all encouragement and their fullest powers of flight if they shall succeed in sustaining on a level with themselves, in the upper business air, their kindred bird who now sits with clipped and feeble wings on the back of our silver dollar.

The advocates of a larger use of silver (and the writer thinks it both possible and desirable) should not forget for a moment that whatever in any degree cripples the financial strength of the United States weakens in so much the most effective existing prop to bimetallism—which at present means a *forced* sustaining in use of silver, as money, at a parity, in pur-

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chasing power, with gold coin; and that failure of such bimetallism now means either entire disuse of silver, as money, or its exclusive use therefor —a change to the silver standard of values. There may be those of the debtor class who would welcome such a change. Even to them the general result would be loss rather than gain; and it certainly could not profit silver producers, for in that event silver, as a purchasing medium, would inevitably sink to its own commercial level, and the value of silver money would be only that of so much of the white metal in the merchants' scales.

If for naught but pure selfishness, all interests should wish to anchor the business of this country to assured gold specie payments and absolute good faith, and thereby draw to us the capital of the world, with its best brains and brawn, which then would regard our favored land as the most promising of all for their employment, and whose industries and enterprises would fructify all of our business interests.

Again, from the outcome, would we learn, with reinvigorated faith in proverbial wisdom, that "Honesty is the best policy."

PLINY T. SEXTON.

A WOMAN'S VIEW OF CHRISTIANITY'S MILLSTONE.

PROFESSOR GOLDWIN SMITH, in his article on "Christianity's Millstone," has placed in a very deliberate manner a most plausible and powerful argument in the hands of Christianity's opponents. He claims that the Old Testament, which has been considered the very bulwark of Christianity, must be laid aside, because the book as a whole can not be proven to be historically correct. Christianity embraces many grades and shades of belief, from Catholicism with its doctrine of Immaculate Conception, transubstantiation, Papal infallibility, confession and absolution to Unitarianism, which denies the divinity of Christ and the resurrection of his body, and is not shackled by what Matthew Arnold calls the "fairy tales" of the Christian Religion. Yet taking Professor Smith's paper as a basis of my argument, I can show that from any Christian point of view the New Testament is bound to fall the moment the Old Testament,—the rock upon which it was built—is taken away.

The Catholics and many Protestant sects believe and point to the Gospel as their authority—that Christ came in fulfillment of the prophecies in the Old Testament, but Mr. Smith says: "No real and specific prediction of the advent of Jesus or of any event in his life can be produced from the books of the Old Testament." This has always been the contention of those who refused to accept Jesus as the Messiah! Yet, in order to try to prove that he *was* the Messiah, the New Testament states (St. Matthew, Chap. i.) that Jesus was descended from the House of David, through *Joseph*, who, it was claimed, was *not* his father, and this notwithstanding that he was God and born of a Virgin! Christianity bases its claims to recognition either on the fulfillment of the prophecies or on its code of ethics. The first claim, according to many scholars—including Professor Smith—has no *raison d'être*, and since Jesus preached wholly from the Old Testament, and his precepts and principles were derived entirely from the Bible and the sayings of the Sages, which were later compiled in the Talmud, the second claim cannot be one of superiority. Even the Sermon on the Mount, which is considered the cream of the Christian spirit, was proven years ago by the Rev. Dr. Zipser to be drawn from these sources and to contain no new sentiments. The myths

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and fairy tales which are Christianity's true *millstones* come from the Buddhist legends which were carried into Palestine by the Essenes and others, and were made use of by the Evangelists to adorn the Gospel narrative. A brief survey and comparison of the similarity of their leading features will prove this:

Immaculate Conception of Maya, mother of Buddha.	Immaculate Conception of Mary, mother of Jesus.
Vision of Suddhodana, father of Buddha, in which it is announced to him that the Queen, his wife, shall conceive miraculously.	Vision of Joseph (supposed) father of Jesus in which it is announced Mary, his wife, shall conceive miraculously.
Buddha at his birth was adored by the gods and the great Kings of the four cardinal points.	Jesus at his birth was adored and received homage from the Magi.
Buddha discoursed with the Rishis.	Jesus discoursed with the doctors in the temple.
Buddha was tempted by the demon Mara.	Jesus was tempted by the demon Satan.
Buddha was baptized in the Nairanjana.	Jesus was baptized in the Jordan.
The incident of the Chandala woman at the well.	The incident of the Samaritan woman at the well.
The Courtesan Ambapali.	The Courtesan Magdalena.
The traitor Devadatta.	The traitor Judas.
The triumphal entry of Buddha into Rajagriha.	The triumphal entry of Jesus into Jerusalem.
Adoration of the Rice Cake.	Adoration of the Eucharist.

Mr. Smith says: "It is a rule of criticism that we cannot by any critical alembic extract materials for history out of fable. If the details of a story are fabulous, so is the whole. If the details of Abraham's story are plainly unhistorical, the whole story must be relegated to the domain of tribal fancy."* The whole story of the birth and life of Jesus should therefore according to Mr. Smith, "be relegated to the domain of fancy," and no longer be "allowed to cloud the vision of free inquiry"—is it less difficult to believe that a son was born to a virgin than that a son was born to Sarah when she was ninety years of age?

Professor Smith states that the Old Testament is the entire body of Hebrew literature, philosophy, history and poetry and as such he objects to binding it as a single book and objects still more strenuously to binding it to the New Testament. Instead of seeing any objections to binding the history and theology of a people in one book, I consider it an admirable method, and would suggest that the Christian Church collect and bind together with the New Testament the record of the persecutions, massacres and wars carried on under its banner during the past eighteen hundred years, as exemplifying Jesus's mission: "Think not that I am come to send peace on earth. I came not to send peace, but a sword. For I am come to set a man at variance against his father and the daughter against her mother and the daughter-in-law against her mother-in-law." (St. Matthew x., 34-35.) Why Jesus should be termed the Prince of Peace, after such a statement, is beyond my comprehension! Mr. Smith maintains that

* That Abraham did live, however, and that the Biblical account of some of the events in his life are true is proven by Mr. Pinche's recent Assyrian Archæological discoveries.

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Judaism did not rise higher than "tribal monotheism," but the Psalms abound with the sentiment that the Lord God of Israel is the Lord who reigns over all the earth, and Moses proclaimed Jehovah to be the God of the spirit of all flesh. Mr Smith claims that "Christianity is the denial of Jewish tribalism, proclaiming that all nations have been made of one blood to dwell together on the earth, and are sharers alike in the care of Providence." Yet in St. Mark, Chap. xvi. we find, "He that believeth and *is baptised* shall be saved, but he that believeth not *shall be damned*." And in order to carry out these teachings the history of The Inquisition with the massacre of three hundred thousand souls is written in flame and the story of the crusades painted in blood!

To show that Jesus merely preached Judaism, notwithstanding the perversions of the disciples and of the church, let me give Jesus's own testimony when he was asked which was the greatest commandment (Matthew xxii.). He quoted Deuteronomy, vi., and Leviticus, xix. The first of these commandments is the most important of all the Jewish prayers, is said daily by observant Jews and at the bedside of the dying. The Jews—who do not believe that conversion, whether obtained by exhortation, execration, or social excommunication, is necessary for the salvation of their neighbor's souls—follow the second command more faithfully than those who call themselves Christ's followers, typified by such representatives as the Czar of Russia, head of the Greek Church, Mr. Pobiedonostseff, procurator of the Holy Synod, Pope Leo XIII. (avowed enemy of his neighbor at the Quirinal) on through the gamut to Drumont and Rector Ahlwardt, the anti-Semites, enemies of what Professor Smith calls the "financial Jew."

"Of a belief in the immortality of the soul," continues Mr. Smith, "no evidence can be found in the Old Testament." Yet Mr. Bethune English—a Christian divine who became a convert to Judaism claims that in Daniel xii., 2, Isaiah xvi. and Ezekiel xxxvii. are found plainer accounts of a resurrection than were ever preached by Jesus. Furthermore, the New Testament itself represents the resurrection of the dead being perfectly well known to the Jews and describes Jesus himself as proving it to the Sadducees out of the Old Testament!

"It is but useless and it is but paltering with the truth," pursues Mr. Smith, "to set up the figment of a semi-inspiration. An inspiration which errs, which contradicts itself, which dictates manifest incredibilities, such as the stopping of the sun, Balaam's speaking ass, Elisha's avenging bears, or the transformation of Nebuchadnezzar, is no inspiration at all."* In replying to this I would like to assert my Yankee prerogative by asking why these miracles are any more difficult to believe than those cited in the New Testament? There we read that Jesus fed four thousand people with seven loaves, that he walked on the surface of the waters, that the Holy Ghost descended on him in the bodily shape of a dove and a voice was heard from heaven, proclaiming: "Thou art my beloved son; in thee I am well pleased." It is also related that he turned water to wine, healed lepers by touching them and raised the dead, and after he was crucified, he ascended to heaven in bodily form! If Christians accept these statements as truths, they need have no scruples about accepting all the statements in the Old Testament as

* Many modern minds regard the story of the sun standing still as poetical, and certain ancient Hebrew Sages of repute hold that the episode of Balaam's ass speaking was a vision of Balaam.

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well! If, however, they agree with Matthew Arnold in believing they are justified in discarding as untrustworthy all the reports of miracles and if they believe, as he points out, that the disciples misunderstood and distorted in many instances what Jesus really said, then to quote Mr. Smith's words in regard to the Old Testament: "The time has surely come when as a supernatural revelation, the *New* Testament should be frankly, though reverently laid aside, and no more allowed to cloud the vision of free inquiry." Thus disposed of, the New Testament—laid aside as a book of supernatural revelation, its miracles proven to spring from Buddhist legend, its central idea (the redemption of mankind) not fulfilled—can rest only on its moral and ethical teachings which are proven to be all gleaned from the Old Testament and the teachings of the Hebrew Sages. Therefore, I appeal to the candid reader to decide if what is, after all, the true foundation and spirit of Christianity, can be justly called its Millstone.

MAUD NATHAN.

NEW YORK'S OPPORTUNITY FOR 1900.

THE century that is approaching its close is the most important one in the world's history. Why should not its close be marked with record and thanks? Why should not that celebration take the obvious and gratifying shape of a world's fair? Why should not the place of that fair be the city of New York?

There is no doubt in the minds of all who saw the Columbian exhibition that Chicago gave a better fair to the world than New York would have prepared in the same time, had both of the cities built and exhibited in competition. Chicago is the more active and adventurous of the two, the more liberal and the more indigenous—this must be conceded even by those who dislike the smoke, noise, crowd, and scenic ugliness of the city by the lake.

But Chicago has had her fair. She has compelled the astonishment, the respect, the admiration of the world. Now, let New York make good her promises and show us a thing of equal magnificence and beauty. There would be a fitness in this division of honors. Chicago is American; New York is cosmopolite. It was proper that the quadri-centennial of the discovery of this continent should be observed in a city that is peculiarly a native growth. The city itself is an achievement, an exhibit of purely American courage, energy and taste. It has no history; it has accepted less from older nations than any other of our important towns.

New York, on the contrary, is a complex development. It was Dutch, English and American before it became Irish, and there are hopeful indications that in a little while it will become American again, or at least German. As the gate of incoming population, its own citizenry has become more diverse than that of any other commercial capital in the world; it is more Irish than Dublin, more Hebrew than Jerusalem, nearly as German as Berlin, and the French, Italians, Spaniards, Scandinavians, Japanese, Poles, Hungarians, Russians, Chinese, negroes, even Syrians and Turks are in such numbers as to give racial character to their quarters, which are extensive enough to constitute towns in themselves. There is an obvious fitness in choosing such a city as the seat of an exposition designed to mark an era of progress that concerns America not more than the whole world, especially as it is more available to the world beyond the sea than Chicago was.

A proposition has been made to hold a great religious festival at the end

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of the century. Let those who are concerned with observances of that kind attend it, by all means; but a world's fair ought to have more than a sectarian significance—more than a religious significance. The progress of the race since the beginning of the century has been moral, intellectual and material rather than religious.

The world is richer than it used to be, and also better. There has been much political thievery in New York and Brooklyn, but consider the world at large and there is less pocket picking, burglary and cheating, as there is less drunkenness and savagery. Within fifty years we have seen a continent peopled, a "great American desert" wiped from the map, the last of the crowns struck from the head of an American and the last of the shackles loosed from the ankle of a slave. Greenland has been crossed and bounded, Africa and Australia have no longer a geographic mystery, the train, the ship, the trolley car move humanity whither it will, cheaply, quickly, comfortably; we get the London news of noon on the same morning and the man in Boston converses with the man in Omaha through a piece of wire. Arts have advanced, creature comforts are so increased that the shopkeeper of to-day lives better and more healthfully than a king in the last century, and has more appliances for pleasure and information. Ideas as well as advantages are multiplying. Men are more tolerant than they were and are working more for each other. Monarchy is doomed everywhere, and liberty will be established in the United States in the course of another generation. These beatitudes signify enough to deserve the memorial of an exhibition.

If such a fair is to be, preparations for it should begin at once. Chicago does things while New York talks, therefore the talk part of it should be got over as quickly as possible—say, in about three years. The two political sects will then have settled how much there is in it for each of them, and the real work can go forward from that time. Favorable sites are not plenty, but surely the Hudson or the East River should be brought into the landscape effect. There is room at Inwood and special tracks could be laid that would afford room for the operation of as quick and frequent trains as those on the lake front by which the Chicago exhibition was fed from the town.

New York claims to want such a fair. It has the money, the executive ability, the talent; it has landscape gardeners, artists, architects and organizers. Has it the public spirit?

CHARLES M. SKINNER.

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